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THE LIFE OF RICHARD MALCOLM JOHNSTON IN MARYLAND, 1867-1898¹

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Richard Malcolm Johnston, lawyer, educator, writer, was born March 8, 1822, in Hancock County, Georgia, and died Sept. 23, 1898, in Baltimore, Maryland. On both the paternal and the maternal side his ancestors were Virginians. His great grandfather, the Rev. Thomas Johnston, a native of Annandale, Scotland, who before leaving England had already taken orders in the Anglican Church,

¹ Since this version of the life of Richard Malcolm Johnston in Maryland has been condensed from a much longer and more detailed unpublished narrative, only a few of the most important phases of this portion of his life can be presented here. At times, unfortunately, such condensation leads to an objectionable lack of proportion and perspective, if not to actual distortion. The author earnestly desires that the reader will keep this fact in mind.

Without the active and sympathetic coöperation of Miss Ruth Johnston, of Baltimore, the only living daughter of Richard Malcolm Johnston and his literary executor, much of the personal data and hitherto unpublished material, even in this brief account, would not have been available. Most cordial thanks are extended to her for her unflinching efforts in suggesting and providing much indispensable matter through personal interviews, letters and otherwise. Thanks are due also to Mr. and Mrs. Ray C. Faught, of Baltimore, especially to Mrs. Faught, who has been enabled at times to assist by copying and securing important data; to the Enoch Pratt Free Library, of Baltimore, whose courteous and efficient management has kept available at all times its rich and pertinent resources; and to several residents of Baltimore and elsewhere—who have generously and cheerfully assisted in various ways.

Miss Ethel White, of Baltimore, kindly contributed the use of the Edward Lucas White letter and report.

Mr. W. Kennedy Boone, of Baltimore, has graciously supplied the tentative list of names of students at Pen Lucy School while he was also a student there, 1880-1883. Further additions to this list—of names of students at Pen Lucy at any time during its existence—will be gratefully received by the author.

An excerpt from Sidney Lanier's letter to Johnston, Nov. 6, 1877, and the entire text of Lanier's letter to Johnston, Aug. 28, 1880, are from *Sidney Lanier* by Edwin Mims, by permission of the publisher, Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin Company, from which source other data has also been included here. The other Lanier letters are from the Enoch Pratt Free Library's recently acquired collection. Other sources of data include Johnston's *Autobiography* and the *Literary Estimate and Bibliography of Richard Malcolm Johnston* by Edmund Clarence Stedman and Stephen B. Weeks.

came first to Pennsylvania. He is represented as a man of very strong religious convictions. Later he made his home temporarily in Maryland, where he was rector of a parish in Prince George's County; but finally he came to Virginia as rector of the parish of Cornwall, Charlotte County. The eldest son of the Rev. Thomas Johnston, who had married Sallie Adamson after he came to Virginia, was named William. William Johnston, after having served in the Revolutionary War, moved in 1799 to Hancock County, Georgia, where he settled on a plantation—presumably a land grant—about four miles west of Powelton, the Dukesborough of the *Dukesborough Tales*. Malcolm Johnston, the younger of the two sons of William Johnston and Rebecca Mosely, had been born in Charlotte County, Virginia, in 1788, and was about eleven years old when his father moved to Georgia in 1799. Richard Malcolm Johnston, the son of Malcolm Johnston and Catherine Davenport, was born on the Johnston estate, which on account of the large number of oak trees surrounding the residence had come to be known as Oak Grove.

Young Johnston's early years were spent on this farm, where, as he relates in his *Autobiography*, his home life was in some respects—especially most of the Sundays—very nearly puritanical. His father, however, was reported by the son to have owned at one time as many as seventy slaves. Richard received very little schooling in his home, but most of his elementary training was gained in several neighboring old-field schools, this type of school having been a unique and picturesque educational institution of that day. His observation of and experience in these schools formed the basis of his first published story, "The Goosepond School," which appeared in Porter's *Spirit of the Times* in 1857. Not very long before his death, while he was employed in Washington, he wrote a brief history of these old-field schools, "Educational Life in Middle Georgia," which he prepared at the suggestion of United States Commissioner of Education William T. Harris, and this summary was published in the *Report of the Commissioner of Education*, 1894-95. His later school training was of a better type, at the Powelton Academy, one of the best of its kind in Georgia. For his collegiate education he was sent at the age of seventeen to the newly established manual labor school, Mercer Institute (now Mercer University, Macon), at Penfield, only twenty miles from his home. It was under the leadership of the Rev. Jesse Mercer, a prominent Baptist minister of that region, at whose suggestion Malcolm Johnston had become an ordained Baptist minister though he seldom preached, that Mercer Institute was established, and to the new school his name was given. This type of school, the

method and discipline of which was based upon that of the parent school at Hofwyl, Switzerland, was an educational fashion of that period which was rather generally adopted in the United States. Having entered Mercer as a sophomore, half advanced, in 1839, Johnston was one of three students who constituted the first graduating class of that institution in 1841. He appears to have received what may be termed first-honor ranking in that group.

Since his father's finances, on account of aid recently given to needy relatives, were then in a rather uncertain condition, Johnston began almost immediately after his graduation to teach, his first efforts having been made at Mt. Zion in Hancock County. After teaching there until the close of the year 1842, he decided to read law in the office of Henry Cumming at Augusta. He was admitted to the bar the following year, and upon his return to Hancock County formed his first partnership, that with Eli W. Baxter, of Sparta. Johnston at the age of twenty-two was married in November, 1844, to fifteen-year old Mary Frances Mansfield, of Sparta, whose father, Eli Mansfield, a native of New Haven, Connecticut, was a tailor. Having spent most of his time hitherto since his admission to the bar, as he himself asserts, in doing mainly clerical work and in reading Latin and English literature, he now returned to teaching at the Mt. Zion school. Early in 1847, however, he decided to study and practice law seriously and industriously, and with this aim in mind he entered into a partnership with James Thomas, of Sparta. During this time he gained a wider knowledge of both the theory and the practice of law, but in 1849 he returned again to teaching, this time at the Sparta Academy. After two years of teaching at Sparta, he returned again to the practice of law, having formed his third (and last) partnership with Linton Stephens, brother of Alexander H. Stephens. This apparently was the period during which Johnston most thoroughly enjoyed his legal work and associates, both of the Stephens brothers having become his intimate friends; for it was now that he came to be regarded as a lawyer "well grounded in principles and familiar with pleadings." Yet Johnston had no great desire to remain a lawyer, for he felt that he was deficient in certain qualifications which he believed a lawyer should possess. Having been defeated in his only political candidacy, that for a judgeship in the neighboring circuit, in 1857, by Judge Garnett Andrews, the candidate of the Know-Nothing Party, Johnston, a Democrat, although he could have been elected the following year by the Democratic legislature to which the election of judges had been remanded, decided to abandon both politics and the practice of law. Of two

other positions open to him at the time, one the presidency of his alma mater, Mercer University, and the other a recently vacated professorship of English literature in the University of Georgia, he chose the latter and entered upon his duties at Athens in the autumn of 1857.

For four years Johnston remained at the University of Georgia, enjoying his work there as fully as he could under the disciplinary requirements so generally demanded even of college teachers at that time. The greatest and main objection which he had against the work was the espionage required of teachers in enforcing discipline. The pleasant social life at Athens and his work in the classroom he mentions with zest and enjoyment. In addition to his classes in English literature he trained all the declaimers and speakers who appeared on the public programs. All evidences indicate that both he and Mrs. Johnston were popular members of the college community. When Georgia seceded from the Union, January 1861, Johnston, who had considered the action unwise and had so expressed himself, tendered his resignation to the board of trustees, who in accepting it adopted by unanimous vote an expression of regret. At the end of the collegiate year he moved to his estate at Rockby, near Sparta, where he opened a private boarding school for boys. This he conducted throughout the Civil War upon a system of honor and not of espionage, and the school became known favorably throughout the South. Though the school at Rockby weathered the storm of war, its chances of surviving during the Reconstruction era were naturally lessened. Johnston therefore decided, as other natives of Georgia and the South had already done, to escape the chagrin and perils of Reconstruction by leaving the South. In the summer of 1867 he moved to Maryland and reopened his school there under the name of the Pen Lucy School at Waverly, a suburb of Baltimore.

I. COUNTRY GENTLEMAN, TEACHER, AND WRITER, 1867-1881

When Richard Malcolm Johnston² finally decided to leave Georgia and to reside in Maryland, he had arrived at his fifty-fifth year. In reviewing his life in Georgia under the old régime and with the friends of his youth and middle life—a life which nearly everyone

² Though Johnston was invariably known among his friends as "Colonel" Johnston, for reason of brevity the title has here been discarded. It may be added that a careful examination by the State Historian, Mrs. J. E. Hays, of the records in the Department of Archives of the State of Georgia, Atlanta, has produced no evidence that Johnston's commonly known title "Colonel" had any relation whatever to a military appointment of Johnston to his personal staff by Georgia's Civil War governor, Joseph E. Brown,

of his stories indicates he had enjoyed—he came to the conclusion that with the social and political order in the South in almost complete upheaval he could not endure any longer the Reconstruction mode of existence. He therefore in June, 1867, at the conclusion of the last commencement held at Rockby, his estate near Sparta, where the school had been conducted since its establishment, accompanied by his wife and eight children—Malcolm, Mary Walton, Albon, Amy, Marianna, Richard, Ruth, and Effie, ranging in age from twenty-two to a year and a half—left their home in Georgia and made the long, tiresome journey by railway to Baltimore. Until Johnston could select a site for the reestablishment of his school, the family remained at Barnum's Hotel, probably the best known Baltimore hotel of that time.

Johnston and his family were not without friends, however, when they arrived in Baltimore; for the members of at least two families they had known as neighbors in Hancock County, the families of Edgar Dawson and Edgworth Bird, welcomed them. These two families had only recently found a place of refuge in Baltimore from the conditions they had found intolerable in Georgia. It was indeed through the financial aid of Edgar Dawson that Johnston had been enabled to go to Baltimore. These self-exiled Georgians found congeniality not only in each other's company but also in the atmosphere of Maryland, which, though a border state, had in large measure remained true to its Southern affiliation and tradition. Through the aid of these friends—especially the financial assistance supplied by Edgar Dawson—Johnston finally arranged to purchase from John W. Garrett a part of the particularly well situated and attractive estate of Chestnut Hill in Waverly, now a part of Baltimore but at that time a suburb just north of the city.

This Waverly estate, provided with a large residence, well wooded, well drained, admirably suited in its seclusion and in other particulars, could hardly have proved other than attractive to Johnston or to anyone else who had lived in the country; for the beauty of the Baltimore suburban landscape is proverbial. Here the family soon made its new home, and here also was reestablished the school, now

as has been suggested in print once or twice. The only record in these archives relating to Johnston is an original copy of a minor military request addressed to Major General Henry C. Wayne, June 1, 1864, and signed by Johnston as aide-de-camp to General Wayne. There appears to be no evidence that Johnston ever referred to a military title or ever claimed that he possessed such a title. There is evidence, however, that what may be termed a familiar title of "Colonel" (for Georgia probably has had as many "colonels" of this type as even Kentucky) was bestowed upon Johnston by his friends very early, probably soon after he began the practice of law.

christened Pen Lucy in memory of the frail but lovely daughter, Lucy, who had died only three years before the family had left Georgia. The first session opened auspiciously in September, 1867, with about forty students in attendance, most of them from the South. Johnston had succeeded in his first desire, that is, to attract to his school from the South as many students as he would normally secure were he still in Georgia. But, anticipating that the attendance from the South would gradually diminish, he also sought students from the Maryland area.

Of special interest in this connection is the list of persons whose names were used as references and were printed on the annual folder-prospectus sent out to patrons and prospective patrons of the school. Though Johnston very naturally and proudly placed at the head of the list the name of a very prominent Georgian, one of the best and most loyal of his Middle Georgia friends, Alexander H. Stephens, formerly vice-president of the Southern Confederacy, along with those of other Georgians, yet he added to the list at first, and more and more as the years passed, the names of prominent Baltimoreans and Marylanders. More than a hundred names are given in the list printed on the prospectus of July 15, 1875, those of Georgians being given precedence. Maryland names included the following:

From Waverly, Rev. William T. Johnston, Henry Hoen, W. S. Thompson; John E. Owens, Towson; Rev. D. E. Lyman, Govanstown; from Baltimore, His Grace Archbishop Bayley, Turnbull Brothers, F. W. Brune, Rev. A. Curtis, R. Gittings, Armstrong, Cator & Co., Maj. E. G. Dawson, A. J. Lowndes, Hon. S. T. Wallis, Maj. E. W. Hull, I. N. Steele, J. T. Crow, A. W. Machen, Hon. George W. Brown, John King Jr., B. C. Presstman, W. E. Bird, Philip Poullain, John W. McCoy, Norvell & Baxter, G. Ober, H. M. Warfield, Dr. R. McSherry, Dr. Van Bibber, Dr. J. J. Chisolm, Dr. R. S. Steuart, Dr. James A. Steuart, Dr. F. T. Miles, Hon. John A. Inglis, Neilson Poe, J. P. Poe, James A. Buchanan, T. J. Irving, Robert H. Small, J. T. Mason, W. Rowland.

In the Georgia division of the list which contains more names than any other, one may find the names of four men—Alexander H. Stephens, Charles J. Jenkins, Joseph E. Brown, John B. Gordon—who had been or who were later to become governors of Georgia.

Though it is obviously impossible now to reconstruct a complete list of names of students who attended the Pen Lucy School at Waverly—and later in Baltimore, at the southeast corner of North Avenue and Maryland Avenue—a list of some of the students who were in attendance from January, 1880, to June, 1883, when the

school was at the latter address, includes the following (mainly Baltimore) names:

Richard Cromwell, C. Hammond Cromwell, M. John Cromwell, H. Jenkins O'Donovan, J. Henry O'Donovan, Lewis Foley, Edmund Foster, Dennis Murphy, J. Wilcox Jenkins, Thomas C. Jenkins, Edward Donnelly, John N. Williams, Austin Jenkins, Francis Patterson, Edward Taylor, Charles Janin, Augustus Duke, George Robinson, Morgan Robinson, Andrew Middleton, Charles Wyeth, Lowell Poullain, Arthur Bosley, Edward Erickson, Michael S. Hill, Alfred J. Turner, Henry Dentry, George Dentry, Henry McComas, Edward Lucas White, Arthur Brown, William Brown, Sidney Brown, Henry Green, Nat Tyler, William Wyeth.

Since the school was to be the economic mainstay of the family in their new home, Johnston was careful to model it in every particular upon the school which he had conducted so successfully at Rockby by retaining each of the essential elements of that earlier school. Two of these distinctive features were, that it was a select private boarding school for boys (though day pupils were later accepted), over which Johnston and his wife presided as if it were a large family, and that it was in essence a classical school, devoted mainly to English, history, mathematics, Latin and Greek. To this certainly should be added the fact that music, both in theory and practice—for the school maintained its own student orchestra—was available for each student who desired it and was credited as a regular study. Piano, violin, and flute were apparently the music courses chiefly in demand.

Announcement was made on the folder (dated July 15, 1875) that the new school year at Pen Lucy would open September 16, a five-day holiday being given at Christmas and two days at Easter, and would close June 15, 1876. The site of the school is described as high and healthful and in an excellent neighborhood. The prospectus further affirms that

Pupils are treated, so far as practicable, as members of the family; and the experience of the undersigned [Johnston] has satisfied him and many excellent and distinguished persons whose sons and wards he has taught, from all sections of the country, especially the South, that it is not vain to expect and require even very young boys to understand, and appreciate, and practice the deportment of gentlemen. The discipline of the School and the House is strict; but it is guided by rules such as just and honorable and prudent men employ in their own families. No boy will be kept in the School who will not try to make reasonable improvement, or who cannot be made amenable to the obligations of honor.

These latter sentences contain the gist of the honor system which Johnston strove to maintain, a system which was perhaps the most

notable single feature of both his Rockby and Pen Lucy schools, and it is with a natural warmth of pride in the success of the school that he concludes:

The honorable positions which many of the pupils of the undersigned, in several States, have attained in Universities, Colleges, and afterwards in public and private life, lead him to increased confidence in presenting the claims of the School.

One of the Baltimore pupils at Pen Lucy during these years was Edward Lucas White, later a teacher and writer of distinction. Preserved among documents of the White family is a letter which the youthful Edward Lucas (at that time somewhat more than ten years old) wrote, under date of November 14, 1877, to his mother and grandmother in Baltimore. With its naïve punctuations and misspellings and boyish zest for things in general, the letter gives a delightfully interesting glimpse into the daily routine of the school and the relation between pupils and teachers:

thu. Nov. 14th, 1877

Dear Mama and Grandma:

I'm glad to know that evry thing has gone along nicely since I came away. I like scott {presumably Sir Walter Scott} a great deal better than I thought I should. I only have as yet six lessons a day they are, two geography lessons, two spelling lessons, and one arithmetic and latin grammar lesson. I say the arithmetic to Dr Wagoner {Wagner} and the others to the colenel {Johnston}. D.... C..... (commonly known as fatty) today stutered so at reading that the whole scool was in a laugh. A boy named Alpfonse also makes evrybody laugh. he charges up to the blackboard as if he was takeing a city, with a cloth in one hand, and the chalk in the other. He dose not stob a minuet to listen, but puts down the numbers as if his life depended on being in a hurry, all the while rubing out his own and evry body elses sums. When he has got his anser he backs off to the other side of the scool room, and shouts it out, he is allways told not to speak so loud & not to make so much noise. Of all the boys I like F.... C..... the best. . . . I like I.. W..... only second best. E.. T.... is the most perfectly indifferent boy you ever saw, he cares no more for a boxing that makes boys of my age cry than a horse would mind your touching him. By the way I've made a bad example for Farther Lyman has a horse, and if you touch her she yells like helabalu. I hope you are well and mama's foot is not bad, for I must finish now as I've got to write my composition, so goodby.

Edward Lucas White. O O O O O kisses for all.

A report card for this same pupil for April (presumably for the year 1877), with general average for March, indicates not only how excellent were his grades but also how emphatically classical was the school curriculum:

2nd Latin Translation.....	90 +
2nd Latin Composition.....	85 +
2nd Greek Translation.....	94
1st Rhetoric.....	94
2nd English Composition	92
2nd Catechism.....	95
1st Arithmetic.....	85
2nd Algebra.....	93
2nd Geometry.....	88
1st History, English.....	98 +
1st History, Ancient.....	95
General Average	91 8/11
General Average for March.....	89 1/4

With the presence during the school year of the students added to that of the rather large Johnston family, the life at Pen Lucy was always busy, interesting, and with such distinguished visitors as Alexander H. Stephens and others, as varied as such routine life could well be. The circle of friends, limited at first mainly to the families of the Dawsons, Birds and Poullains—all expatriates from Georgia—gradually expanded to include many friends from many places. The Johnstons and Birds, especially, were brought together by an additional attraction, their love of music. Both Mrs. Johnston and Mrs. Bird were accomplished pianists. Johnston himself could perform creditably on the flute, as could also his two older sons, Malcolm and Albon. Richard, the youngest son, was a student of the violin. They often joined in brief informal concerts within their homes, the younger members participating with their elders.

"They played duets upon the piano—Mozart, Hayden, Beethoven—and other music, the best music," says Miss Johnston. "My father also took part on these occasions, playing upon the flute, and his sons, Malcolm (the eldest) and Albon—three flutes, and later my brother Richard on the violin. These fine concerts were among my earliest recollections. My mother was an accomplished pianist, as was also Mrs. Charlton (my eldest sister) when she was young."

One of the most notable additions to this early group of friends was Sidney Lanier, who, when he first came to Baltimore in 1873, to join the Peabody Orchestra, was for a time the guest of the Bird family. He must naturally have met Johnston very soon after his arrival. Not only because of the fact that Lanier, like Johnston, was a survivor of the war and its resultant conditions but also because both men and their families were fond of music, the Laniers and

the Johnstons were soon intimate friends. It was thus that Johnston gained not the earliest but doubtless the most sympathetic and talented of the critics of his writings.

In this particular it should be recalled that others had also aided Johnston in regard to literature and writing. The earliest of these was undoubtedly Alexander H. Stephens, in Georgia, Johnston having published there anonymously his first volume of fiction, *Georgia Sketches*, in 1864. The earliest literary friends in Baltimore were Henry C. Turnbull Jr., of Turnbull Brothers, publishers, who issued the second enlarged edition of *Dukesborough Tales* (1874)—the first edition having evidently been privately printed (1871)—and William Hand Browne, who was a collaborator with Johnston in two volumes, *English Literature*, a manual for schools (1872), and the *Life of Alexander H. Stephens* (1878).

Pen Lucy, the hospitable home of the Johnstons, with its lordly chestnut trees of which Lanier was passionately fond, soon came to be a place where Lanier was sure of a welcome at any time. Lanier during the remaining years of his life often visited Pen Lucy to chat with the Johnston family and the students, who included in the course of time the three elder sons of Lanier. It was under these chestnut trees, with all the greenness and tranquillity which spring and summer brought to that lovely environment, that Johnston and Lanier talked much of writing and literature. It was here, too, that each of them, especially Johnston, did much writing, either on the shaded veranda or on the lawn.

Johnston, when he had first come to make his home at Pen Lucy, had soon formed the habit, whenever the weather was favorable, of sitting near the end of the northwestern part of the veranda, with its outlook not only upon the chestnut trees, the lawn and the flowers but also upon the cool woodland to the north, and with three large sycamores at the west to give protection from the glare and heat of the afternoon sun. There in a large rocking-chair he was accustomed to sit while he scribbled away, his feet usually resting comfortably upon the railing of the veranda. At other times he did his writing in his study indoors on the first floor of the residence. Whenever Lanier was at Pen Lucy and wished to write, Johnston, unless Lanier desired a different arrangement, would give the place on the veranda to Lanier while he himself had a large rocking-chair taken out and placed under one of the chestnut trees on the southern lawn and wrote there. Sometimes the two would exchange places. Whenever they wished to talk—no writing being done at the time—one would join the other, either on the lawn or the veranda. It was

all delightfully informal and companionable, conditions which highly pleased both of them.

Amid such quietude and restfulness, for which the entire village of Waverly—especially Pen Lucy, situated as it was at the northernmost limit of this suburb and virtually in the country—was noted, both Johnston and Lanier found a tranquillity and inspiration conducive alike to the growth of a deeper friendship and an increased literary activity. So began at Pen Lucy the years of intimate literary association between these two writers, and thus it happened that at times the brooding seclusion of the chestnut-embowered residence and lawns inclosed and fostered both of these former Georgians: one, the most sympathetic revealer in poetry of the life and spirit of his native State; the other, second to none of his fellow Georgia writers in his sketches and stories which mirrored humanly and faithfully the hearts of the rural folk of Middle Georgia.

Doubtless in one of these very friendly chats which the two were accustomed to enjoy at Pen Lucy, began the discussion of that, at the time, latest child of Johnston's brain, "Mr. Neelus Peeler's Conditions," with the constructive suggestions by which Lanier initiated his literary tutelage of Johnston.

Lanier, realizing the sterling quality of Johnston's knowledge and understanding of the Georgia country folk, secured the manuscript of this story from Johnston and read it thoroughly and critically. In the earliest letter from Lanier to Johnston of which there is record (Nov. 6, 1877), one may learn of the pleasure with which Lanier read Johnston's story, of the thoroughness with which he comprehended it with regard to plot, characters, setting and general details, and of the practical suggestions he offered his friend in regard to the revision of the manuscript. He paid a high tribute to Johnston's sense of humor and his insight into the hearts of the old-time Georgia folk:

. . . The story strikes me as exquisitely funny, and your reproduction of the modes of thought and of speech among the rural Georgians is really wonderful. The peculiar turns and odd angles, described by the minds of these people . . . are presented here with a delicacy of art that gives me a great deal of enjoyment. The whole picture of old-time Georgia is admirable, and I find myself regretting that its *full* merit can be appreciated only by that limited number who, from personal experience, can compare it with the original.

That Johnston was gratified by Lanier's sympathy, praise, and keen insight is indicated by the fact that he promptly revised the manuscript and held it for Lanier's reëxamination and approval. While

this work of revision was being completed by Johnston, Lanier wrote a second letter to Johnston within the same month:

55 Lexington St.,
Baltimore, Md.
May 27, 1877

My dear Colonel Johnston:

Your letter arrived while I was in New York, and only reached me after I came back.

Immediately on my return a severe haemorrhage kept me *hors du combat* for several days, and I am just now beginning to get about again. In answer to your kind inquiries about Charley: the brave little fellow has been quite kept under by the failure of his long-continued boil to heal, and is still suffering so much inconvenience from it that we have been afraid to start him to school.

I've just finished a long Christmas poem for "Every Saturday"; and have this moment sent off a "Song of the Chattahoochee" to a Georgia editress. The latter I particularly want to read to you.

Pardon a hasty note. Come in whenever you can, and let me see Mr. Neelus Peeler again before you send him off. I am in a cruel press of work and write in a shameful hurry.

Your friend,

Sidney L.

This letter is valuable not only for corroboration of Lanier's aid to Johnston in the criticism of "Mr. Neelus Peeler's Conditions," but also for its illumination of the cordial relations between the Lanier and Johnston families.

Lanier, not Johnston, submitted the revised and rewritten story to Richard Watson Gilder, then editor of *Scribner's Monthly*. Gilder accepted the manuscript, and Lanier, to whom the check in payment for the manuscript had been sent, in turn forwarded it to Johnston. Needless to say that the receipt of the first check ever paid him for any of his stories was an event of first importance to himself and his family, one which has been recalled by his daughter, Miss Ruth Johnston:

I remember him standing in glee before this fireplace [a large, open fireplace in the study at Pen Lucy on the first floor of the residence] and calling my mother, who always lived upstairs in her own room, except when at her domestic duties, saying, "Come, Fannie!" for he had in his hand the letter accepting his first story, "Neelus Peeler's Conditions."

Above all other literary benefits, such as technical criticism which the recipient may or may not have adopted, Johnston, through his friendship with Lanier, was encouraged to continue to write, to discover for himself that he could repeat his achievement in "Mr.

Neelus Peeler's Conditions" by writing additional stories which would prove salable. The quest of each of these two writers to secure some congenial employment that would afford even a mere subsistence—a struggle which had long engaged Lanier and was now, as the Pen Lucy attendance declined, beginning to involve Johnston—held a note of deep pathos and personal concern, as, for instance, in Lanier's letter to Johnston, May 21, 1878:

Westminster Hotel,
New York, May 21, 1878

My dear and only Richard:

I send a hasty line to say that the main person I desired to see is out of town and I have been obliged to follow him, so that I cannot be in place before Thursday next. This gives me a great deal of concern; but my quest here is of such vital importance to my future plans that it seems a duty not to abandon the field until every possibility is exhausted. If I succeed I shall have no more cause of disquiet for a year.

Whenever you have time please run by and cheer up my poor Little Girl, whom I left sadly unstrung by long illness. It is almost more than I can bear,—to be obliged to stay away from home for two days more.

God have you in his holy keeping,

S. L.

For Lanier, of whom Johnston is reported to have said: "He was the most cheerful man I ever knew," the concluding sentence of the foregoing letter contains what is almost a note of despair.

Other manifestations of the cordial relations that existed between the Lanier and the Johnston families, some of which have already been indicated, as well as of Lanier's sparkling and delicious sense of humor, are likewise suggested in a most illuminating letter from the poet to Johnston in August, 1878:

33 Denmead St.
Saturday Morning
[August, 1878]

It is a "drear interval," my dear Colonel,

I thought certainly I would be sitting under your trees with you this morning; but my boys, who have for a long time held me in abject servility through an unguarded promise I once made to take them somewhere on a steamboat at sometime—though I appeal to every well-regulated parent if the words "somewhere" and "sometime" have not been held, time out of mind, to deprive all such promises of moral obligation at any particular place or moment—found themselves yesterday arrived at such a pass that life seemed to have reduced itself to the formula "Steamboat or Suicide": and so, purely to avoid a dark and childless future I bundled 'em all off to Fair Haven. We returned at half-past nine last night, and straightway fell to wondering what horrible and grievous crime we had committed against Heaven, that It

should have brought you to our house on that one particular day out of the three hundred and sixty five when we were all absent.

My holiday moreover leaves me with double work today, and I fear I won't be able to get to you until Monday, when please Heaven, I will write some philosophy under your chestnuts. But meantime *you* might come *here* and smoke.

May is not at all well, and I am trying, in consultation with her this morning, to devise some method—consistent with the extreme attenuation of my purse—to get her into a different air from this.

Sidney has permission to stay until seven this afternoon, if he isn't in Mrs. Johnston's way. He has taken such a violent fancy to your abode, and to all the people in it, that he talks of little else. The other boys would go with him but one is not well—Harry—and Charley has some duties at home.

So, until I see you, God keep you and the chestnuts in such receipt of rain or of sunshine as your spirits may severally desire,—prays,

Your faithful

S. L.

At this point, 1880, in the correspondence between the Laniers and Johnston (for Mrs. Lanier had become as firm a friend to Johnston as had her husband), Mrs. Lanier wrote the first of her letters to Johnston that are preserved. The reason was that the poet, now nearing the end of his brief life, was too ill to write. The letter, written in January of that year, discloses the fact that Johnston too was ill at the same time:

Friday
[January, 1880]

Dear Col. Johnston:

Sidney is better, yet very sick: the least drawback might occasion a serious relapse. He is now relieved of the intense excitement of brain which forbade all sleep, and he eats with a fair relish. But the head is *touchy*, off in a moment: and sometimes come very sharp lung pains of a flitting nature. We do not like to hear of *you* sick too.

This Xmas card has lain in my desk, sealed, for 16 days—illness all the time on hand, & no messenger. Love to all, from

M. D. L.

It happens also that the next letter from the Laniers to Johnston was written by Mrs. Lanier, about two months later. Several important statements are made in it. Though no mention is made of the poet's health, from the very absence of such mention it may be inferred that he was in better health. The intimate tone and the spirit of profound friendship which permeates this is as notable as in the letters written by the poet himself, another intimation of the extremely cordial relations between the families:

1032 N. Eutaw St.
March 25, 1880.

My dear good friend:

I fairly groaned when I heard that a second kind visit from you was lost to me. Only that morning my heart had been pleading to stop and see you on my homeward way from church (where I had been only twice since Christmas); but the duty to call and inquire about the quarantined family at the Turnbull's—where Edwin has measles—took all the time available.

Since it may make me the glad instrument of forwarding one little desire of yours I am rejoiced that I was called to the opening consultation over the new Women's Club. As soon as a second meeting is appointed your friend's name shall be presented. Or more probably she will be summoned to that meeting. I carried my sympathy to help start the ball rolling; but am far too ill—were I less ignorant—to engage in the active work made a condition of the members. Of course the invitation to me was simply an act of homage to our Sidney.

Thank you, truest of friends, for admitting me to yesterday's sacred memories, and to your hope and faith. Sometimes I think that all I learn is my ignorance and spiritual poverty and collapse. Then again comes some new apprehension of *the Life indeed*, which fans the dull embers. You once wrote me a few words upon the deadly sin of despair, in midst of your own heart-rending, which have been pressed to my soul ever since, and have held it often within bounds. We do not know what work for others our own struggles may achieve—inward as they seem.

With none but dearest remembrances & warmest regards,

Yours ever faithfully,

Mary D. Lanier.

As to the friend of Johnston to whom reference is made in the foregoing letter, at this distance in time probably only a futile conjecture could well be formed. More interesting than the name of the friend is the revelation of the deep devotion of Mrs. Lanier to Johnston—paralleling and supplementing that of her husband—and her desire to extend to him any courtesy in her power. Another notable index of the cordial relations between Mrs. Lanier and Johnston, one which is found in at least one other letter of hers, is the use of *our*, as in the sentence, "Of course the invitation to me was simply an act of homage to our Sidney." In the very last letter (in this collection) from the Laniers to Johnston, which was written to him by Mrs. Lanier only a short time before his death, she refers, in offering him sympathy and condolence after the death of his wife, to the friendship which she expresses in behalf of her family as that of "mine and *our* boys." In the trust and confidence which they reposed in him, both Lanier and his wife regarded Johnston as if he were a member of their own family.

As to what, specifically, were the "sacred memories" to which Mrs. Lanier referred in her letter, it is perhaps useless to conjecture; but it is certain, from this and other statements cited, that both Mrs. Lanier and the poet were trusted friends of Johnston, and it seems likely that the reference may have been to Johnston's religious experiences—which had been varied, first, as a member of the Baptist Church; next as an Episcopalian, and finally as a Roman Catholic—especially those during the five years (since 1875) he had been a member of the Roman Catholic Church. There are numerous indications to suggest that it was not unusual for him to discuss religious matters with an intimate friend. He often talked such matters over with the Stephens brothers (both Linton and Alexander), Lanier, Alden, and Twain, and certainly with others not so prominent as these.

A third, and final, letter for the year 1880 is one of the most pleasing and appealing of all the letters written by Lanier to Johnston. It bears the date of August 28th. Beginning with a tribute to his friend—a delightfully playful yet discerning passage, done with typical Lanierian charm—the poet proceeds cleverly to refer, in the third paragraph, to the recent birth of his fourth and last son, Robert Sampson Lanier, then weaves in a reference to Johnston's fiction writing and a note of encouragement upon the wider acceptance his fiction is gaining, and finally closes with a note of gratitude and a benediction to "my best and only Richard":

West Chester, Pa.,
August 28, 1880.

My dear and sweet Richard,—It has just occurred to me that you were *obliged* to be as sweet as you are, in order to redeem your name, for the other three Richards in history were very far from being satisfactory persons, and something had to be done. Richard I, though a man of muscle, was but a loose sort of swashbuckler after all; and Richard II, though handsome in person, was "redeless," and ministered much occasion to Wat Tyler and his gross following; while Richard III, though a wise man, allowed his wisdom to ferment into cunning and applied the same unto villainy.

But now comes Richard IV, to wit, you—and, by means of gentle loveliness and a story or two, subdues a realm which I foresee will be far more intelligent than that of Richard I, far less turbulent than that of Richard II, and far more legitimate than that of Richard III, while it will own more, and more true loving subjects than all of those put together.

I suppose my thoughts have been carried into the details of nomenclature by your reference to my own young Samson, who, I devoutly trust with you, shall yet give many a shrewd buffet and upsetting to the Philistines. Is it not wonderful how quickly these young fledgelings impress us with a sense

of their individuality? This fellow is two weeks old to-day, and every one of us, from mother to nurse, appears to have a perfectly clear conception of his character. This conception is simply enchanting. In fact, the young man has already made himself absolutely indispensable to us, and my comrade and I wonder how we ever got along with *only* three boys.

I rejoice that the editor of "Harper's" has discrimination enough to see the quality of your stories, and I long to see these two appear, so that you may quickly follow them with a volume. When that appears, it shall have a review that will draw three souls out of one weaver—if this pen have not lost her cunning.

I'm sorry I can't send a very satisfactory answer to your health inquiries, as far as regards myself. The mean, pusillanimous fever which took underhold of me two months ago is still *there*, as impregnably fixed as a cockle-burr in a sheep's tail. I have tried idleness, but (naturally) it wont *work*. I have tried no labor except works of necessity—such as kissing Mary, who is a more ravishing angel than ever—and works of mercy—such as letting off the world from any more of my poetry for a while. I get up every day and drag around in a pitiful kind of shambling existence. I fancy it has come to be purely a go-as-you-please match between me and the disease, to see which will wear out first, and I think I will manage to take the belt yet.

Give my love to the chestnut trees and all the rest of your family.

Your letter gave us great delight. God bless you for it, my best and only Richard, as well as for all your other benefactions to

Your faithful friend,

S. L.

The two stories to which reference was made by Lanier were probably "The Expensive Treat of Colonel Moses Grice" and "Puss Tanner's Defence," which immediately follow "Mr. Neelus Peeler's Conditions" in the third (comprehensive) edition of *Dukesborough Tales*, the former having appeared in *Scribner's Magazine* in January, 1881, and the latter in *Harper's Magazine*, February, 1881. These two stories, like "Mr. Neelus Peeler's Conditions," must surely have been read and criticized by Lanier. The reference to a volume of stories by Johnston was undoubtedly to the third and last edition of *Dukesborough Tales*, which appeared in Harper's Franklin Square Library in 1883. Lanier did not live to redeem his promise and to add a further proof of his devotion and loyalty to Johnston by writing a review of this volume. The mention by Lanier of his failing health already anticipated his approaching death.

Even more pathetic than the references in the foregoing letter are those in Lanier's last letter to Johnston, which bears the date of July 5, 1881. (Lanier died on September 7.) As the letter itself suggests and as the penmanship in the original shows, the address, the

date, and the first twenty-four words of the letter were dictated by the poet to his wife. Just after the word *husks*, Mrs. Lanier was called away, whereupon Lanier took up the pen—in spite of her parting warning—and himself wrote through the words, *But here comes May*. From this point onward the letter was dictated by Lanier and written down by his wife:

Camp Robin, near Asheville
July 5, 1881

My dear Colonel (but why should I not spell it *Kernel*,—as being one to whom other men are but as shells or husks?): I was just beginning to dictate to May when she was called away, and so I scrawl on, as well as I can, to tell you that your sweet letter came in upon me through my circumjacent woods like a rose peeping through the leaves, and that I should long ago have sent you my love for't if either work or health had permitted. Our camp-outfit required endless small labors, and as soon as we moved into our tents—which was about five weeks ago—I had to set very hard to work at completing my *Boy's Percy* (a redaction of *Percy's Reliques*) which I had promised to furnish—along with the Introduction to my *Mabinogion*—by July 1st, complete and ready for the printer. Although in the greatest bodily distress I have ever known,—for my fever seemed not only unrelenting but growing in ferocity daily,—I managed to get through in time, and had the gratification of fulfilling my contract in spite of old Chang Lung, the tyrant.

I am sure you will be glad to know that I am now comparatively free from pressure of work, and will be so for four or five weeks to come. It is too glorious for any words to sit under my great trees here and fold my hands, and lie fallow to the thoughts that rain down from God and from the mountains.

I have improved a little, I think, in one or two particulars, and my appetite is better, though my leg is certainly the most ridiculous object I ever beheld, and, as for the muscle of my arm, there is none. Nevertheless, I shall get well, and look for great things in the next four weeks.

Tell me how the novel fares, [*Old Mark Langston*, which also appeared after Lanier's death, in 1883] for I shall brood anxiously over each character.

But here comes May; (who takes her rebel into custody, with a reprimand) and as this is the longest letter I have written in a great while I will allow her to close for me. Please give our love to Dr. and Mrs. Browne [William Hand Browne and Mrs. Browne], and tell them how completely hard work has barred both May and myself from putting on paper the kindly thoughts of them that certainly dwell with us.

With as many sweet wishes for you as there be leaves in all the valley betwixt this mountain that my tent is on and yonder blue range twenty miles away that I glimpse across many an intervening lesser hill whenever I lift my eyes,

Your friend,

S. L.

(our love to Lucian [the youngest Johnston child] on his birthday)

At this point Mrs. Lanier added—evidently without the poet's knowledge—the following pathetic postscript:

Dear Friend:

I know that Mr. Tabb [John Banister Tabb] will receive our news and loving remembrance through you. There has not been much to aid my hope: his sufferings are almost intolerable: yet the last three days have been the best of any within a month. Uniform dry weather needed—& lacking.

M.

As this parting letter indicates, one of the very last of Lanier's thoughts of Johnston, which he was able partly through the agency of his wife to reduce to writing, was concerned with the novel which he had urged Johnston to write. Johnston was actively engaged in this work at the time, the novel being his first, *Old Mark Langston*. Lanier, ever since he had first written to Johnston about "Mr. Neelus Peeler's Conditions," had encouraged Johnston to write, had given him practical advice, and had greatly helped him. That genius with which Johnston was endowed as a writer was of slow but sure development. While he was developing as a writer, Johnston needed most of all to have his own sense of self-reliance strengthened, to be assured that he could write and continue to do so acceptably. Stephens, Turnbull, Browne, Lanier—each of these friends, in turn, had helped Johnston to discover himself. The greatest of these, however, in the comradeship with which he met Johnston and spent hours and days in his home; in the penetrating common sense, good taste, and unfailing sympathy with which he had evaluated his friend's work, was undoubtedly Lanier. Lanier's guidance seems to have been the most important single friendly force in aiding Johnston to learn the craft of writing.

When death removed Lanier, Johnston had greatly profited in a literary way by his association with the poet: he had developed more ability in organizing and condensing his plots—a weakness with him throughout his entire career as a fiction writer—and especially had he, partly through the early stimulus of Lanier's kindly and discerning aid, gained an incentive to meet and to know intimately some of the leading editors and publishers in New York City and in the eastern states. He was better able now to sell his work, a most encouraging achievement for him. Though Johnston was to continue his writing, to acquire other literary friends and helpers in various parts of the country, yet it came to be true for him, as it was

for Lanier who had expressed the thought so aptly, so beautifully, that—after all the ravages, destruction, and blight of war, the insolence and dark threats of the days and months and years which immediately followed it, the parting from long-loved friends, the slow, deadening sorrow of self-expatriation—

The world has bloom'd again at Baltimore!

(To be continued.)

"PATOWMECK ABOVE YE INHABITANTS"
A COMMENTARY ON THE SUBJECT OF AN OLD MAP

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

PART 4

The Several Indian "Old Towns" on the Upper
Potomac River¹

(a) *Old Town in Washington County*

In the second of this series of articles² I related what I knew concerning King Opassa's Town, the Shawnee Indian town, which stood on the site of Old Town, Washington County, Maryland. This town was inhabited in 1726, but not many years later it was deserted. The Shawnees abandoned this town probably before 1732, but certainly before 1736. On Benjamin Winslow's "Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River called Cohongorooto," as surveyed in the year 1736, a facsimile of which is published in Volume Eighteen of *William and Mary Quarterly*, Second Series, together with an excellent commentary by our editor, Mr. James W. Foster, the "Shawno Indian Feilds deserted," situated on the north side of the Potomac, about and below the junction of the North Branch, or Cohongoronton, and the South Branch, or Wappacomo, are defined with what seems to be considerable care. An "old feild" is also indicated on the Virginia side of the Potomac, just above the mouth of the South Branch. On John Warner's map of the Northern Neck, 1738, the "Shawno Ind.ⁿ Feilds deserted" are shown, lying about the junction of the North and South Branches of Potomac.³ There is no reasonable doubt that these Indian fields supplied corn to the Indians of King Opassa's Town.

In what year Thomas Cresap settled at Old Town nobody knows, although it is asserted confidently that it was in the year 1740. For the assertion last mentioned there seems to be no proof whatever. That he had a "hunting or Trading Cabbin" near the forks of the Potomac as early as the year 1745 is well known.⁴ It is not absolutely

¹ I desire gratefully to acknowledge valuable assistance received from Mr. Charles McHenry Howard in interpreting many of the records here published.

² *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXX, p. 126 et seq.

³ A facsimile of this map will be found in Fairfax Harrison's *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, Vol. 2, at page 441.

⁴ *Maryland Archives*, Vol. XLIV, p. 121, and Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber E. I. No. 8, folio 8 et seq.; Treaty with the Six Nations.

certain that this trading post was on the site of Old Town, for at that time Cresap owned no land on or about that site; neither is it certain that the road, which, in the year 1743, was ordered to be laid out from the mouth of Conococheague Creek to Captain Thomas Cresap's, had Old Town as its destination, although this author somewhat rashly gives this out for a fact in the second of this series of articles,⁵ but it is a fact that there was a road to Old Town as early as February, 1743/4,⁶ which may, of course, have been the road to Cresap's, laid out some months before.

It is unfortunate, also, that I formerly lent credence to the claim that Cresap was the first white settler at Old Town,⁷ for this claim, too, appears to be invalid. So far as can now be shown, the first white man to establish a residence at Old Town was probably a certain Charles Anderson, an Indian trader. While proof is lacking that he actually resided at the place before Cresap, it is highly probable, almost presumable, that he did so, and certain it is that he had some sort of an establishment, or post, or plantation at Old Town a number of years before. Anderson was an obscure man, owning no real estate so far as I can discover. Doubtless he had but one place of business, where he lived, traded and cultivated a small plantation. His acquaintance with King Opessa's town was probably made before the Indians forsook the place, for, as I noted in the first article of this series,⁸ in the year 1722 he received instructions from the Governor of Maryland to proceed to that town on a mission of some importance. In 1725 he resided "at Mononknisea," meaning, I suppose, at some place in the Monocacy valley.⁹ This rather tends to dispose of the supposition that he might have been that Indian trader whose cabin at the mouth of Conococheague Creek is indicated on the Hon. Philemon Lloyd's map of 1721. It is barely possible that he was living already at Opessa's Town before the Indians abandoned the site, but the lure of that place for the Indian trader was not the Indian town, but the Warrior's Path, which there crossed the Potomac into Virginia. At all events, his connection with that place can not be shown to antedate 1736. Benjamin Winslow's "plan" of the upper Potomac, which I mentioned above, has "Charles Andersons" on the north side of the river, above the mouth of the South Branch, and at the mouth of Twenty Shilling Creek, which, as we shall presently observe, is a creek now, or lately, called Sawmill Creek, which

⁵, ⁶ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXX, p. 128. The certificate of survey of "Colmore's Rambles" will be found at the Md. Land Office in Liber L. G. No. E., at folio 307.

⁷ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXX, p. 133.

⁸, ⁹ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXX, p. 132.

empties into the Potomac a very short distance below Old Town. On this map there are no indications of white settlers above Anderson's on the north side of the river, and none below Anderson's on that side for some distance. On the south side of the river Winslow's map of 1736 shows the settlement of "John Nickolas" a short way above Anderson's.

Land at and about Old Town was first taken up by Captain John Charleton, ancestor of Francis Scott Key, under the name of "Indian Seat," on November 8, 1739.¹⁰ On August 28th of that year Charleton obtained a renewal of a warrant for three hundred acres "with liberty of Locating the same at the Old Indian Town upon Potomack whereon a Certain Charles Anderson made some Cultivations."¹¹ This warrant is endorsed "200 a (acres) apply'd to Indian Seat." In the certificate of survey of "Indian Seat" the land is described as taking its beginning from "a bounded spanish oak standing on the side of Potomack river about a mile above the mouth of the south branch or south fork thereof the place being known by the name of the old Town." Charleton took out a patent for "Indian Seat" on November 30, 1740.¹² The words of the warrant about the old Indian town and the "cultivations" made by Anderson are repeated with no important variation. Anderson had doubtless left Old Town by 1739. Fry and Jefferson's map of 1751 shows "Anderson" still at Old Town, but this, in my opinion, is an error due to taking off information from earlier maps without looking into the matter as to whether or not such data were up to date. What became of the trader I do not know. The certificate of survey of "The Three Springs," laid out for Thomas Bladen, November 9, 1746, calls for a place on the Virginia side of Potomac River called *Andersons Cabbins*.¹³ This place is situated about a mile to the eastward of Cresaptown.

Thomas Cresap acquired land at Old Town by purchase from John Charleton, May 20th, 1746.¹⁴ He owned no land at that place before that date. The land so acquired was resurveyed for him March 22nd, 1749, and called "Good Hope,"¹⁵ which in turn was resurveyed for him May 4th, 1771 and called "The Resurvey on "Good Hope."¹⁶ "Good Hope" is described as a resurvey on a

¹⁰ Land Office, Annapolis, Maryland Patents, Liber E. I. No. 5, folio 512.

¹¹ Warrants, Liber L. G. No. A, 1738-1742, folio 71.

¹² Patents, Liber E. I. No. 6, folio 268.

¹³ Patents, Liber B. C. & G. S. No. 14, folio 585.

¹⁴ Deeds, Upper Marlboro, Maryland, Liber E. E., at folio 39.

¹⁵ Patented Certificate No. 420, Prince George's County, Land Office, Annapolis, Md.

¹⁶ Patented Certificate No. 3459, Frederick County, Land Office, Annapolis, Md.

tract of land called "The Indian Fields," containing two hundred acres, which was patented to John Charleton, November 13, 1740. There can be no reasonable doubt that this land was "The Indian Seat," which was patented to Charleton on that date. Charleton took up no land under the name of "The Indian Fields." On comparing the plat of "The Indian Seat" with the outlines of "The Indian Fields," as shown on the plat of "Good Hope," we find no appreciable difference. There is, of course, no conflict as to situation.

The first tract of land actually owned by Thomas Cresap in this neighborhood was "The Indian Fields,"¹⁷ a tract of land wholly separate and distinct from the land of the same name mentioned above. This land begins on the Maryland side of Potomac River a short distance above the mouth of the South Branch. As resurveyed for Cresap, June 26, 1762,¹⁸ it extends eastward along the river for several miles, or some distance below the mouth of Town Creek. On the west, adjacent to the river, it is bounded by "The Resurvey on Good Hope."

By 1771 Cresap's lands at and below Old Town amounted to something over a thousand acres, being joined a very short distance above that place by the lands of his son, Michael Cresap, called "Seven Springs,"¹⁹ and extending continuously down the river to and beyond the mouth of Town Creek. All of these lands, except what he purchased of Charleton, were taken up by Cresap, himself.

We have gone into these details, which to the reader will doubtless seem tedious, because of the bearing they have, or may have, on the history of Old Town, with particular reference to Thomas Cresap. Of especial interest, I believe, as tending to corroborate the evidence furnished by Winslow's map, is the fact that the land at and immediately below Old Town, and the lands extending from a point nearly opposite the mouth of the South Branch down along the river towards Town Creek, all went under the name of "The Indian Fields." We can hardly doubt that these lands included the old fields of the Shawnee Indians, which most certainly were in the river bottoms thereabouts.

For the sake of romance it is indeed fortunate that Old Town retains its earlier name, and not the later name of Skipton, which

¹⁷ Patents, Liber L. G. No. E., folio 103, Land Office, Annapolis, Md.

¹⁸ Patented Certificate No. 3533, Frederick County, Land Office, Annapolis, Md.

¹⁹ Surveyed for Michael Cresap, October 8, 1765, and containing 1706 acres: Patented Certificate No. 4320, Frederick County, Land Office, Annapolis, Md.; later, May 18, 1777, resurveyed for his son, James Cresap, under same name and containing 1952 acres: Patents, Liber I. C. No. B., folio 65. In 1817 the place on Potomac River where "Good Hope" and "Seven Springs" met was called Lantz's Mill (Abstracts of Deeds, Allegany County, Liber A. C. No. 2, folio 786). This was by a hill called Allum Hill.

Cresap bestowed on it, when he laid out a town at that place.²⁰ Cresap was a native of Skipton, a market town in the West Riding of Yorkshire, described as "at the head of the fertile grazing district of Craven." "Skipton-in-Crafon," or "Skipton-in-Craven" was the name given by Cresap to one of the many tracts of land which were surveyed for him. It has been carelessly stated that this land lies at Old Town. Actually it lies nowhere near that place.

Before leaving behind the subject of Old Town, I feel justified in saying something concerning the former names of a small stream now, or lately, called Sawmill Run, which empties into the Potomac at that place. These names undoubtedly have some obscure connection with the lost history of Old Town as a place where, before Cresap, white men traded with the Indians. On Winslow's map of 1736 this stream is called "Twenty Shillings Creek." Winslow has "Town Creek" below Twenty Shillings Creek. On Fry and Jefferson's later map (1751) we find Twenty Shillings Creek; but Town Creek is omitted. This curious name of Twenty Shillings Creek persisted, and will be found in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Three Springs," which was laid out for Gabriel Jones, September 16, 1790.²¹ The same stream also went by the name of the Trading Run. This name will be found in several certificates of survey, namely, "Scott's Adventure" and "White Oak Level," laid out for George Scott, June 17th and November 11th, 1776, respectively;²² also "Ipswitch," laid out for George Crabtree, November 26th, 1832.²³ It occurs also in a deed, James M. Cresap to Mary Hesselius and others, June 8, 1815, for part of "The Seven Springs."²⁴ It is a pity that these names are no longer in use, for they would serve to enhance the bouquet of romance which will ever be conjured up by the name of Old Town.²⁵

(b) *Indian Field near the Mouth of Evitt's Creek*

Evitt's Creek, which empties into the North Branch of Potomac River a short distance below the lower limits of the city of Cumber-

²⁰ Abstracts of Deeds, Allegany County, Maryland, Liber A. C. No. 2, folios 687 and 755: September 20, 1817, James M. Cresap et al. to John Jeremiah Jacob, one town lot, distinguished as No. 20 in the plat of the town, situated in the town of Skipton commonly called Old Town; October 23, 1818, Luther Martin, Esq., to James M. Cresap, the stone house in the town of Skipton in the said county (Allegany) commonly called Old Town laid out by Col. Thomas Cresap in his life time, which stone house was owned by his son, Michael Cresap.

²¹ Patents, Liber I. C. No. 1, folio 699.

²² Patents, Liber B. C. & G. S. No. 51, folio 340.

²³ Unpatented Certificate No. 404, Allegany County, Land Office, Annapolis, Md.

²⁴ Abstracts of Deeds, Allegany County, Liber A. C. No. 2, folio 189.

²⁵ It is my guess that Charles Anderson, or some other trader, gave twenty shillings for the Indian rights to the land about Old Town, hence the name, Twenty Shillings Creek.

land, formerly went by the name of Everts Creek, and earlier still was called Eagle Run, under which name it is designated on the Winslow map (1736) and on Fry and Jefferson's map (1751). Benjamin Winslow's map shows an "Old Field" on the north side of Potomac River, about a mile and a quarter below the mouth of Eagle Run. It was undoubtedly this old field which is called for in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Dispute," which was laid out for Thomas Bladen, Esq., June 7th, 1745, "Beginning at a bounded Hickery tree standing by the River Bank about two miles below the mouth of Everts Creek *at the Lower end of an old Indian Field,*" etc.²⁶

It seems to me quite possible, if not likely, that this old Indian field was one of the deserted Shawnee fields, and belonged to a small Shawnee village, another "old town," which stood hard by. It was too distant to have been cultivated by the inhabitants of Old Town, proper, or by those of the Upper Old Town, the site of which we shall consider presently.

(c) *The Upper Old Town on the North Branch of Potomac River*

The upper Shawnee "old town" on Potomac River is mentioned in several early certificates of survey of those parts, but not, so far as I have been able to ascertain, in any other old records. Nothing of its history is therefore known to this writer.

The site of the fields once cultivated by the Indians of this town is shown quite definitely on Benjamin Winslow's map, but vaguely on the later Fry and Jefferson map of this region. Winslow shows the "Shawno Indian Feilds deserted" extending from the upper end of a deep, horseshoe-shaped bend of Potomac River to the eastern end of a mountain ridge lying along the river. These details are wholly lacking on the Fry and Jefferson map. On a modern map they are easily recognized. The lower end of the horseshoe bend is between five and six miles above Cumberland. The bend lies between a place called Riverside and a place called Pinto. The land situated in this bend was formerly called Sugar Bottom.²⁷ The mountain ridge, which on Winslow's map bears no name, is called Fort Hill. Its eastern end is skirted by Mill Creek and lies near the village of

²⁶ Patents, Liber B. C. & G. S. No. 5, folio 172. Under the same name Colonel Thomas Cresap later resurveyed this land.

²⁷ Additional Rent Roll of the Western Shore, Frederick County (Scharf Papers): "Sugar Bottom," 304 acres, surveyed May 25, 1763, for Dr. David Ross, "Beginning at a bounded Elm formerly bounded for Thomas Bladen, Esq.", standing on the River bank at the lower end of a Bottom called Sugar Bottom about seven or eight miles above ffort Cumberland"; "Good Will," surveyed for Dr. David Ross, May 20, 1763, on Potomac River, "about four Miles above Sugar Bottom."

Rawlings. The river bottom between Fort Hill and Pinto is the site of the Shawnee old fields. In so far as it can be determined from records which are somewhat confusing, the site of the Upper Old Town lay towards the western end of the Shawnee old fields, probably not very far from Fort Hill, on or very near Potomac River.

As stated above, the Upper Old Town is mentioned in several early certificates of survey. These lands all lie upon the North Branch of Potomac River above Cumberland:

"I Never See It," surveyed for John Tolson, November 25, 1743, "Beginning at a Bounded white oak standing near the bank of Potomack River *about a Mile & a half below the upper old Town.*"²⁸

"The Cove," surveyed for Thomas Bladen, June 13, 1746, and later patented to Colonel George Mason, "Beginning at a bounded white oak standing at the upper end of a Bottom called the Cove on the North side of the North Branch of Potowmack *about six or seven miles above the upper old Town.*"²⁹

"The Three Springs Bottom," surveyed for Thomas Bladen, Esq., November 9, 1746, and later patented to Daniel Cresap, "Beginning at a Bounded white Oak and Black Oak Tree standing about one Perch from the River Bank Opposite to a place called Andersons Cabbin *About four miles Below the Upper Old Town on the North Branch of Potomac.*"³⁰

"The Little Meadow," or "Little Meadows," 50 acres, surveyed for Daniel Cresap, November 30, 1751, on a warrant granted to Thomas Cresap, "Beginning at a bounded white oak and a bounded Black oak standing by the side of a small ridge near some sink holes about a quarter of a mile from Potomack River *near the upper old Indian Town.*"³¹

"Hawkins's Clover Bottom," surveyed for John Hawkins, November 13th, 1753, "Beginning at a Bounded Black walnut Tree and a small white wood Tree standing near the Bank of Potowmack River and near the mouth of a small Gutt that Runneth into the said River *about eight miles above the upper old Town.*"³²

²⁸ Patents, Liber L. G. No. E., folio 302; Patented Certificate No. 1145, Prince George's County, State Land Office, Annapolis, Md. "I Never See It" was later, January 22, 1766, resurveyed for Daniel Cresap and called "Ross's Mistake" (Patented Certificate No. 4164, Frederick County); and later still, with other tracts, resurveyed for Daniel Cresap, March 15, 1790, and called "The Blooming Fields" (Patented Certificate No. 295, Allegany County, State Land Office, Annapolis).

²⁹ Patents, Liber B. C. & G. S. No. 19, folio 404.

³⁰ Patents, Liber B. C. & G. S. No. 14, folio 585. Granted to Daniel Cresap September 29, 1761, this land was resurveyed for him, January 16, 1766, and called "Prather's Defeat," and patented to Joseph Cresap, February 22, 1788. (Patented Certificate No. 736, Washington County, State Land Office, Annapolis, Md.).

³¹ Patented Certificate No. 2443, Frederick County, State Land Office, Annapolis, Md.

³² Patents, Liber B. C. & G. S. No. 1, folio 347.

The outlines of the above mentioned lands are sketched in on an old plat of "military lots" situated west of Fort Cumberland. This plat is dated December 10th, 1787. A copy of this plat may be seen at the State Land Office. The date applies only to the military lots. The sketching-in of other lands, some of which are earlier, but most of which are later than the military lots, is obviously of later date. The work seems to have been done with a reasonable degree of accuracy and the results are, I think, dependable, at least for historical purposes. I detect one single error which must be mentioned: "The Three Spring Bottom" is called, erroneously, "Addition to 3 Spring Bottom." With the aid of this plat and a modern (1905) Maryland Geological Survey map of Allegany County, together with the original plats of these several tracts, the situation of the lands in question is easily ascertained:

"Little Meadows," or "The Little Meadow," lies about half a mile north-east of Pinto, a little to the west of the axis of the bend of Potomac River at Sugar Bottom.

The beginning of "The Three Springs Bottom," "about four miles Below the Upper Old Town," is on Potomac River, about seven eighths of a mile, measured in a straight line, above the mouth of Warrior Run.

"The Cove" occupies a broad stretch of bottom land along Potomac River, between the river and Fort Hill. The beginning of "The Cove" is very near the spot where Potomac River, after coursing along the southern edge of Fort Hill, leaves that eminence behind it, to rejoin Fort Hill again several miles down stream. The place is about a mile, in a straight line, below Dawson.

"Clover Bottom" lies on the north side of Potomac River, between three quarters of a mile and one mile above Dawson, measured in a straight line.

"I Never See It," which, as we have observed above, was re-surveyed and called "Ross's Mistake," occupies the bottom lands in the bend of Potomac River immediately below Fort Hill. The beginning of this land, "about a mile and a half below the upper old Town," which is also the beginning of "Blooming Fields" and of "Ross's Mistake," is near the lower end of this bend, between the mouths of two small streams, and not far below an island in the river.⁸³ This place is more than four miles, in a straight line, from

⁸³ It is only fair to state that, in the will of Daniel Cresap, dated June 18th, 1796, a full copy of which is printed in *Cresap Society Bulletin*, No. 2, 1935, there is a reference to the beginning of "Ross's Mistake" as situated near the mouth of Mill Run. There seems to be no doubt that the Mill Run there mentioned is the stream now called Mill Creek. However, it is quite certain that the beginning of "Ross's Mis-

the beginning of "The Three Springs Bottom," and since it was below the Indian town (a mile and a half is the estimate), it follows that the beginning of the last named tract of land was considerably more than four miles from the site of the town. The error is the greater, because these distances were, of course, not measured, but were reckoned by men who travelled over a winding route. We fall back on the estimated distances as given in the certificates of survey of "The Cove" and of "I Never See It." Here, at least there appears to be no serious discrepancy. Travelling over a winding path between the spot where "I Never See It" takes its beginning and Potomac River, westerly, a distance of about a mile and a half, we should find ourselves between the mouth of Mill Creek and the eastern end of Fort Hill, somewhere within the limits of the old Indian fields. It seems most likely that it is there, between Fort Hill and Mill Creek, on or near the river, on the borders of those extensive bottom lands, that we should look for the site of the Upper Old Indian Town. Whether or not the name of *Fort Hill* has any significance in this connection I am unable to say, but I think it far from impossible that it has a meaning. Almost all Indian towns of any importance were provided with forts. It must not be inferred that any Indian fort, which may have belonged to this particular Indian town, was situated on this mountain, for this was certainly not the case, but it may have been very near it, and so have given to the mountain its name.³⁴

take" and of "I Never See It" is at or near the place above described. To make assurance doubly sure, I have joined two plats of adjacent surveys, on which the reaches of Potomac river between Fort Hill and Sugar Bottom are easily identified. These surveys are: "The Blooming Fields," a resurvey on "Ross's Mistake," "Good Will" and Part of "The Indian Purchase," laid out for Daniel Cresap, March 15, 1790 (Patented Certificate No. 295, Allegany County), and "Pleasant Meads," a resurvey on part of "The Indian Purchase," laid out for Daniel Cresap, Jr., August 18, 1789 (Patented Certificate No. 2078, Allegany County). It seems perfectly clear that "Ross's Mistake" does not begin near the mouth of Mill Creek, but begins at a place about three-quarters of a mile below that spot.

³⁴ I find no earlier mention of Fort Hill than that which occurs in the will of Daniel Cresap, June 18, 1796. This fact does not, however, preclude the possibility that the mountain had borne that name for many years before this date.

THE AMAZING COLONEL ZARVONA

By CHARLES A. EARP

Richard Thomas of Mattapany believed in "living dangerously." This unusual man, gentleman adventurer and professional soldier, wandered to the far corners of the earth and yet found his moment of fame on the nearby waters of the Potomac not far from his ancestral home. Although he was a member of one of the best known families of Southern Maryland, son of a speaker of the house of delegates and nephew of an ex-governor, the early years of Thomas' life are dimmed in the half light of rumor and family reminiscence and only the most meagre details are known. Born in Saint Mary's County on October 27, 1833, young Thomas attended school at Charlotte Hall there and at Oxford on the Eastern Shore and was also a cadet at the United States Military Academy for a short time. But he seems to have been a wanderer at heart and, soon succumbing to the call of distant places, worked awhile as a surveyor on the western frontier. He next turned up in the Far East and there participated in the campaigns against the Chinese pirates who were terrorizing oriental waters. From Asia, Thomas drifted across to Europe where he fought under Garibaldi during the great struggle for national independence in Italy and here, it appears, he first adopted the name Zarvona by which he was to be known in later life.¹

Being an ardent Southern sympathizer, Thomas, or Zarvona as we shall call him, returned to America just before the Civil War to serve the Southern cause and at the outbreak of hostilities suggested fitting out a swift light boat for the Confederate service with which he proposed to prey upon Northern vessels on the Chesapeake.² It is not surprising, therefore, to find him prominently connected with one of the most daring feats of the early part of the war, the capture of the bay steamer *Saint Nicholas*, a 1,200 ton side wheeler, running between Baltimore and Georgetown, D. C.³

¹ Baltimore *Sun*, July 9, 1861; Henry Hyde in Baltimore *Evening Sun*, May 23, 1928. I am indebted to members of the Thomas family for securing for me the exact date of Zarvona's birth from the family Bible as well as other valuable information concerning the Colonel. Particular thanks are due Miss Louisa Thomas, Mr. Tazewell T. Thomas and, for general assistance, Mrs. Maria Briscoe Croker.

² R. to John, April 26, 1861, *The War of the Rebellion, a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Washington, 1880-1901, Series II, Vol. 2, p. 400 (cited as O. R.)

³ J. T. Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy*, New York, 1887, p. 114 (cited as Scharf).

There is some doubt as to the exact origin of the plan, for three men: Zarvona, George N. Hollins of Maryland, a captain in the Confederate navy, and H. H. Lewis, another naval officer, appear to have some claim for its conception.⁴ At any rate the basis of the scheme was daring in the extreme. It was proposed to secrete a band of carefully disguised volunteers on board the *Saint Nicholas*, overpower her crew at a strategic moment and take command of the vessel. Then by a quick trip to the Coan river on the Virginia shore the little force was to be augmented by a detachment of Confederate infantry. The *Saint Nicholas*, it appears, frequently transferred supplies to the United States warship *Pawnee*, a vessel of the federal squadron which patrolled the Chesapeake Bay. Consequently the final step in the plan was to range alongside the *Pawnee* as usual, throw an armed force on board and capture the vessel for the Confederacy by a surprise stroke before the federals became aware of the ruse.⁵

As the aid of a strong infantry force was highly desirable for the successful execution of this latter maneuver, an application was made to General Theophilus Holmes, commanding the Confederate forces at Fredericksburg, for the cooperation of a part of his command. General Holmes disapproved of what he considered to be a wild scheme and felt "that success would be miraculous." Nevertheless by express order of the Secretary of War, who favored the enterprise, Holmes detailed Colonel Bates' Tennessee regiment to cooperate with the movement at Coan river (probably in case the *Saint Nicholas* was pursued) but this force was strictly forbidden to take any part in the expedition on the water.⁶

Governor Letcher of Virginia was more enthusiastic, however, and supported the plan vigorously. He issued a draft for \$1,000 to purchase arms and supplies in the North and selected Zarvona as agent for this purpose. According to Captain Hollins' own statement he was placed in command of the expedition, which was to be carried out under his direction, Zarvona, it appears, acting as a sort of second in command. Lieutenant Lewis was recalled from duty on the lower Rappahannock, informed of his part in the enterprise and stationed with the Tennesseans. Then a small group of volunteers who had

⁴ Governor Letcher to President Lincoln, Jan. 2, 1863, *O. R.*, II, 2, 401; Extracts from notes by Commander George N. Hollins, C. S. Navy, n. d. (cited as Hollins) in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. 4, p. 553 (cited as *O. R. N.*); Scharf papers; L. P. Walker, Secretary of War, to General T. H. Holmes, June 25, 1861, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 551.

⁵ Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 553; James D. McCabe, Jr., *History of the War between the States (1861-2)*, unpublished MS. dated Vicksburg, 1862, p. 256; Scharf, p. 111

⁶ See correspondence between General Holmes and the Secretary of War, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 551-3.

been enlisted for the scheme crossed over quietly into Southern Maryland; Zarvona took the Patuxent boat and proceeded on to Philadelphia where he purchased the necessary arms for the expedition. Returning secretly to Baltimore, he gathered about him a little band of loyal followers and made his final arrangements for the coup.⁷

The *Saint Nicholas* left Baltimore on the afternoon of June 28, 1861, on her regular run, laden with freight for Saint Mary's and Charles counties and Washington City. She also had on board a number of passengers bound for the various landings along the Maryland shore of the Potomac river.⁸ Among those booking passage at Baltimore was a "French lady" of dark complexion and rather masculine features⁹ who included in her baggage several large high trunks such as were used by milliners at that time.¹⁰ According to one witness the "French lady" played her part to perfection, tossing her fan about and even coquetting with a federal officer who was among the passengers and no suspicions were aroused.¹¹ A number of rather common-place looking passengers seemed to be watching the "French lady" with some interest especially when the *Saint Nicholas* stopped at Point Lookout, Maryland where the Potomac meets the Bay. Here several men came aboard, among them an elderly looking individual and a young Marylander named Alexander; all booked passage for Washington City.¹²

Soon the "French lady" excused herself and disappeared into her stateroom.¹³ Several minutes passed and the *Saint Nicholas*, making up the river, drew further and further away from the Point Lookout dock. A group of male passengers, including those who had boarded at Point Lookout, lounged about the deck and seemed uninterested in retiring although by this time it was considerably after midnight.¹⁴ Then there suddenly emerged from the cabin of the "French lady" none other than Zarvona himself clad in the full uniform of a Confederate Zouave and armed with a cutlass and revolver.¹⁵ Quick orders were given and the loungers on the deck

⁷ Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 553-4; Scharf, pp. 112-3.

⁸ Charles Worthington to Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, July 1, 1861, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 550. Worthington was the agent for the Baltimore and Washington Steamship Line, Scharf, p. 117.

⁹ *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, July 2, 1861.

¹⁰ Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554; McCabe, p. 257.

¹¹ Statement of Lieutenant George Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115.

¹² Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554; Statement of Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115. McCabe states that Alexander "recognized" the "French lady" as an old acquaintance from Paris and that they at once became engaged in an earnest conversation in French. McCabe, p. 257.

¹³ Statement of Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115.

¹⁴ McCabe, p. 257; Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554.

¹⁵ Statement of Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115; *Daily Exchange*, July 2, 1861.

rushed into his cabin where they supplied themselves with weapons from the milliner's trunks of the "French lady."¹⁶ The elderly looking man, who turned out to be Captain Hollins, armed himself with a Sharp's rifle and a pair of pistols, raced up to the wheelhouse and informed the captain that his ship was in Confederate hands.¹⁷ The officers and crew of the *Saint Nicholas* were taken completely by surprise and, as Lieutenant Alexander put it, "In a few minutes we overpowered the passengers and crew, secured them below the hatches, and the boat was ours."¹⁸

All lights were then extinguished and the *Saint Nicholas*, under command of Captain Hollins, was headed at full speed for the Virginia shore, arriving at Coan river landing at 3:30 in the morning. Here she was met after some delay by Lieutenant Lewis and a detachment consisting of the Tennessee infantry and a few volunteers from the Confederate navy.¹⁹ Although they could expect no further aid from the Tennesseans, who were under strict orders not to board the *Saint Nicholas* for an expedition, the little band of volunteers who had originally seized the vessel decided to carry out their original plan and capture the *Pawnee*. However, it was learned through the Baltimore papers that the *Pawnee* had steamed up to Washington City to attend the funeral of a federal officer killed in the recent attack on Mathias Point and consequently the latter part of the plan had to be abandoned.²⁰

The passengers who so desired were allowed to go ashore at Coan river, the little band was augmented by the naval volunteers, and the *Saint Nicholas* was headed out into the bay and proceeded for Fredericksburg.²¹ But the adventure was not yet over. Soon another boat loomed up in the darkness and proved to be the brig *Monticello* bound to Baltimore from Rio de Janeiro with a cargo of coffee. She was immediately captured and on board were found the official dispatches from the U. S. squadron off Brazil which were turned over to the Confederate authorities. A short time later the schooner *Mary*

¹⁶ Statement of Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115; Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554.

¹⁷ Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554.

¹⁸ Statement of Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115. Approximately one-third of the forty-six Southerners participating in this affair were Maryland Zouaves. They included: Colonel R. Thomas of Richard (Zarvona), commanding; George H. Alexander, F. Gibson, lieutenants; Fred H. Hollins, George N. Hollins, Jr., William O'Keefe, William Powers, R. Fellon, Francis Duffin, Joseph Thompson, G. H. Frazier, John Daley, George Watts, John Brown, James Laughlin, Richard Fuller, Samuel Tatem, privates. See *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 555.

¹⁹ Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554; Scharf, p. 115.

²⁰ Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554; McCabe, p. 258.

²¹ Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554. See *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 555 for complete list of those participating. According to this official roster the Tennessee infantry did not sail on the *Saint Nicholas*.

Pierce carrying ice to Washington City was also taken and the precious cargo, selling for \$8,000, was put to good use in the southern hospitals. Finally a third vessel, the *Margaret*, loaded with coal, was overhauled and seized, this being a most fortunate capture as the coal aboard the *Saint Nicholas* was running dangerously low. She was quickly refueled from this supply, however, and then proceeded on to Fredericksburg with her prizes.²²

The daring crew of volunteers was received in Fredericksburg with full military honors²³ and Zarvona was commissioned under that name as a colonel in the volunteer forces of Virginia by the convention of the state.²⁴ He was royally entertained in Richmond and Scharf tells this amusing—if perhaps somewhat overcolored—story about his visit. It seems that the Colonel's friends insisted on seeing him dressed in his role as the "French lady." He consented with the understanding that the joke was to be strictly private but while he was out of the room preparing his costume, a lady entered much to the consternation of the group, and took her place among them. She was treated with politeness but left to herself as the embarrassed gentlemen tried to find some way of getting rid of her before Zarvona should return. Then at the psychological moment the Lady lifted her skirts and revealed a pair of officers boots and the tip of a sword. It was the Colonel himself who had turned the trick very neatly and, as Scharf says, "The effect may be imagined!"²⁵

Spurred on by the success of the *Saint Nicholas* affair, Zarvona was consumed with desire to repeat it and, securing permission from Governor Letcher to attempt another exploit of the same type,²⁶ he set out in a schooner early in July for Maryland waters. As can well be imagined the capture of the *Saint Nicholas* had caused much

²² The *Saint Nicholas* was purchased by the Confederate government and converted into a gunboat. On the capture of the prizes see Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554-5; Scharf, p. 116; *Baltimore American*, July 3, 1861. There occurred in later years a controversy as to whom belonged the credit for this affair, Captain Hollins writing a long statement after the war wherein he claimed that honor for himself. Apparently Hollins, a naval officer and the senior member of the party, was directing activities but it seems clear that Zarvona was the "key man" in the execution of the coup. See "Autobiography of Commodore George N. Hollins," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Sept., 1939. It is partly to throw further light on this controversy and partly because additional material has been discovered in other sources that the incident is retold here in detail.

²³ *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, July 2, 1861.

²⁴ The commission and papers discovered on Zarvona at the time of his subsequent capture are to be found in *O. R.*, II, 2, 399.

²⁵ Scharf, p. 117.

²⁶ Governor Letcher to G. W. Randolph, Secretary of War, June 20, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 4, 781; Governor Letcher to President Lincoln, Jan. 2, 1863, *O. R.*, II, 2, 401. The exact nature of the plan will never be known although it is probable that Zarvona intended to secrete himself on another steamer (perhaps the *Columbia* or *George Weems* of Baltimore), plan a junction with his armed vessel somewhere down the bay, and seize the unsuspecting ship.

consternation among the federals²⁷ and the rumor was quickly spread that the "French lady" was again in the State secretly planning another expedition.²⁸ A federal patrol boat scoured the Bay in search of him but to no avail.²⁹ On July 9th, John R. Kenly, provost-marshal of Baltimore, ordered the steamer *Chester* to be fitted out at Fort McHenry with several cannon, a detachment of federal troops and a posse of local police for the purpose of capturing Zarvona and his colleagues who were thought to be somewhere in the vicinity of the Chester river on a sailing vessel called the *Georgiana*.³⁰

Fate works in strange ways, however, and it was not this well armed expedition but two members of the Baltimore police force, John Horner and Lieutenant Thomas H. Carmichael, who finally located the elusive Colonel Zarvona. They had been sent to Fair Haven in Anne Arundel county to arrest one Neale Green, a well known Baltimore barber, for alleged participation in the attack on the Sixth Massachusetts regiment which had recently passed through the city. After securing their prisoner, Carmichael and Horner had boarded the steamer *Mary Washington* bound for Baltimore. The boat was scarcely under way before Lieutenant Carmichael learned to his utter amazement that the much sought after "French lady" was himself on the *Mary Washington* in disguise along with a number of his men. Zarvona's comrades had remonstrated with him for his rashness in going to Baltimore so soon after the *Saint Nicholas* affair, but the daring Colonel was determined to carry out his plans and, rather than have possible harm befall him alone, a group of his friends had accompanied him on the steamer.³¹

Lieutenant Carmichael immediately ordered the captain of the *Mary Washington* to direct his course to Fort McHenry and land

²⁷ J. P. K. Mygatt, Acting Lieutenant U. S. S. *Reliance* to R. B. Lowry, Lieutenant commanding U. S. S. *Freeborn*, June 30, 1861, O. R. N., I, 4, 549-50.

²⁸ Baltimore *American*, Sun, July, *passim*.

²⁹ R. B. Lowry, Lieutenant commanding U. S. S. *Freeborn* to Commander S. C. Rowan, U. S. S. *Pawnee*, July 10, 1861, O. R. N., I, 4, 572.

³⁰ Baltimore *American*, July 9, 10, 1861; Baltimore *Sun*, July 9, 10, 1861; Commander, U. S. S. *Pocahontas* to Commander, U. S. S. *Pawnee*, July 9, 1861, O. R. N., I, 4, 569-70; Commander, U. S. S. *Penguin* to Flag Officer Stringham, Atlantic Blockading Squadron, July 11, 1861, O. R. N., I, 5, 785. The *Chester* did not get off until the day following Zarvona's capture and those aboard the *Georgiana*, learning of the fate of their colonel, had fled. The *Georgiana* was discovered several days later abandoned at the mouth of the Chester river and was subsequently brought up to Baltimore. Baltimore *American*, July 13, 1861; Baltimore *Sun*, July 11, 15, 1861; Robert Williams, A. A. G. Department of Annapolis, to Col. E. D. Townsend, A. A. G. War Department, July 14, 1861, O. R., I, 2, 740.

³¹ Baltimore *American*, July 9, 10, 1861; Baltimore *Sun*, July 9, 1861. No satisfactory account exists on the capture of Zarvona. The only information available is that appearing in the Baltimore newspapers of the time but this material is presented for what it is worth.

his passengers there instead of at the regular dock. The Colonel grew suspicious and, approaching Carmichael, demanded to know by whose authority the vessel had been diverted from its customary course, Carmichael replying that the steamer's route had been altered by police orders. Then according to an account by one of the passengers a most dramatic scene ensued. Zarvona gathered his men about him and, drawing a pistol, threatened to seize Carmichael and Horner and throw them overboard. As the women ran screaming from the cabin, the police officers also presented their weapons and, backed up by a number of the male passengers, forced the Southerners to surrender.

On arriving at Fort McHenry one of the officers reported to General Banks commanding at that place who immediately ordered a company of infantry to the boat. The suspects were all put under arrest with the exception of Colonel Zarvona who had somehow made his escape and disappeared. After an extended search he was finally found concealed in a large bureau in the ladies' cabin,³² was taken without resistance and placed in close confinement at Fort McHenry. Among Zarvona's baggage was found his Zouave uniform, his commission as colonel in the armed forces of Virginia and other papers, including a letter of credit on a prominent Baltimore business house.³³

Zarvona's capture caused much comment and he was confined at Baltimore for piracy but was later indicted in the United States Court for the District of Maryland on a charge of treason only, and was retained in custody as a political prisoner of the Department of State.³⁴ The Colonel was considered such an important prisoner that a number of witnesses in the case against him (several members of the crew of the *Saint Nicholas*) were held as prisoners at Fort McHenry for almost two years awaiting the trial which never took place.³⁵ While Zarvona was confined at the fort, General Dix, then in command, wrote to General McClellan that among his prisoners was

. . . the celebrated Thomas or Colonel Zarvona, commonly known as the French lady. He is of one of the first families in Maryland; is rich, intelligent and resolute. His nervous system is much broken by confinement and want of

³² It was stated that at the time of his capture Colonel Zarvona was clad in feminine attire. See Townsend to Stanton, Secretary of War, Feb. 10, 1863, *O. R.*, II, 2, 404. The charge is denied in Scharf, p. 121.

³³ *Baltimore American*, July 9, 1861. A somewhat different version of Zarvona's capture appeared in the *Baltimore Sun* for July 9, 1861; it agrees with the *American's* account, however, concerning the main outline of the event.

³⁴ Dix to Stanton, Feb. 20, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 390; Extract from record book, State Department, 'Arrests for Disloyalty,' *O. R.*, II, 2, 379.

³⁵ See *O. R.*, II, 2, 381-9, 408-9.

active occupation and he has made earnest appeals to me for the privilege of walking about the garrison within the walls on his parole of honor not to attempt to escape. There is no doubt it would be sacredly respected. . . .³⁶

This request brought no satisfaction, however, and the prisoner was finally transferred to Fort Lafayette in New York harbor in the custody of Major D. P. DeWitt of the Second Maryland (Union) Infantry.³⁷ From here Zarvona made repeated appeals for parole on account of his health but in vain.³⁸ No action was taken and a short time later the prisoner was placed in strict confinement for allegedly corresponding with friends outside by means of some mysterious and secret cipher.³⁹ Yet the Colonel was not a man to give up easily even in the face of such diversities and one night in April of 1862, in the midst of a high wind and a raging storm, he made a spectacular attempt to escape. He gained the sea wall, eluded his guard, and, plunging into the choppy waters of the harbor, struck out in the darkness for the distant Long Island shore. A boat was hastily lowered and the prisoner was overtaken after a short pursuit and returned dripping but undaunted to his cell.⁴⁰ According to Scharf's account Zarvona was unable to swim but managed somehow to fashion an ingenious life belt by corking up a number of tin cans and suspending them around his waist by a cord.⁴¹ As a result of this misadventure, the "French lady" was placed in still more rigid confinement and was allowed no visitors, even the special pass issued to his mother being revoked.⁴²

The rumor was circulated that the rigor of his close imprisonment had impaired the Colonel's health both mentally and physically⁴³ and in January, 1863, the Senate of the United States passed a resolution to examine his case and determine if relief could not be extended.⁴⁴ It was reported as a result that the severity of his confinement was necessitated by his attempt to escape. A federal army surgeon also examined him at this time, declared his physical condi-

³⁶ Dix to McClellan, Sept. 5, 1861, *O. R.*, II, 2, 381.

³⁷ D. T. Van Buren, by order of Major General Dix, to Lt. Col. Martin Burke, commanding at Fort Lafayette, Dec. 2, 1861, *O. R.*, II, 2, 165.

³⁸ Zarvona to William H. Seward, Secretary of State, Dec. 22, 1861, Jan. 9, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 386-7.

³⁹ E. D. Townsend to General L. Thomas, Feb. 27, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 394; Lt. Col. Burke to General Thomas, March 5, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 395; Thomas to Burke, Feb. 28, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 394.

⁴⁰ See account by a fellow prisoner, *O. R.*, II, 4, 775; statement of federal officers, *O. R.*, II, 2, 396-7.

⁴¹ Scharf, p. 121.

⁴² *O. R.*, II, 2, 394-5, 397-8.

⁴³ See *O. R.*, II, 2, 411-12; II, 4, 774-76 for Confederate accounts of his treatment in prison.

⁴⁴ *Congressional Globe*, XXXIII, part I, page 558 (3d sess., 37th Congress, 1862-63).

tion good, and reported him somewhat eccentric in his ideas but perfectly sane and rational.⁴⁵

Meanwhile Zarvona's relatives and the Confederate authorities at Richmond had been making every effort to have him exchanged as a regular prisoner of war.⁴⁶ In June, 1862, Governor Letcher had issued a strong note of protest, pointing out that Zarvona had been acting under his orders on an authorized mission for the promotion of the Confederate cause, and further threatening to execute two federal officers of equal rank with the Colonel if any harm should befall him.⁴⁷ When no results were forthcoming he followed this up with a special letter to no less a person than President Lincoln himself in which he reviewed Zarvona's case at some length and asked that action be taken. In addition four federal officers and three privates were placed in the Virginia penitentiary under state authority as hostages for Zarvona, destined to suffer the same fate that was meted out to him.⁴⁸

Finally in April 1863, after nearly two years of imprisonment without trial the Colonel's exchange was authorized by Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War, and he was released.⁴⁹ The records fail to show any additional information concerning Zarvona and he appears to have played no further part in the war. There is no complete explanation but perhaps in the following letter lies the answer to this sudden ending to his strange career in the service of the Confederacy.

FORT LAFAYETTE, *New York Harbor*, March 24, 1863

Brig. Gen. L. THOMAS

Adjutant-General, U. S. Army, Washington, D. C.

SIR: I wrote you some days since in regard to a parole for R. T. Zarvona (the French lady). He now desires me to say that if released he will leave the country and give his parole of honor not to return to the United States or the Confederate States during the war, and that he will not take part in the rebellion. He says he will do this because his health is destroyed by the confinement he has undergone.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

MARTIN BURKE,

*Lieutenant-Colonel Third Artillery, Commanding Post*⁵⁰

⁴⁵ See correspondence, *O. R.*, II, 2, 403-6.

⁴⁶ Zarvona wrote to Governor Letcher and Secretary of War Benjamin to intercede in his behalf, *O. R.*, II, 2, 411-12. See also letter of his brother Lieutenant George Thomas, 1st Maryland Battalion, to General (Stonewall) Jackson, Nov. 18, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 412-13.

⁴⁷ Letcher to G. W. Randolph, Secretary of War, June 20, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 4, 781.

⁴⁸ Letcher to President Lincoln, Jan. 2, 1863, *O. R.*, II, 2, 401-3. Letcher says two officers and five privates but see petition of the hostages, *O. R.*, II, 2, 407.

⁴⁹ *O. R.*, II, 5, 434, 522. The hostages were paroled early in May so Zarvona must have gained his freedom somewhere around the last of April. See *O. R.*, II, 2, 414-15.

⁵⁰ *O. R.*, II, 2, 410.

Thus Richard Thomas, also called Colonel Zarvona and the "French lady," vanished from the history of the Civil War. Practically nothing is known about his later life other than that he returned to Europe and lived in Paris for a number of years. The Colonel appears to have been there during the Franco-Prussian War and, for a man of his temperament, it is not unlikely that he participated in that struggle also. The early '70s found him again in Southern Maryland, his days of adventure and excitement over. He died at Woodberry, the home of his brother, in 1875 and was buried in the old Thomas family burial ground at Deep Falls. The wanderer had returned home, this time to roam no more.⁵¹

⁵¹ Part of the information on Zarvona's last years was found in the notice of his death appearing in the *Baltimore Sun* for March 26, 1875; part was kindly supplied by members of the Thomas family.

LETTERS OF ARCHBISHOP MARÉCHAL

Letters of Archbishop Maréchal of Baltimore to Baron Hyde de Neuville concerning the two large paintings and the bell presented to the Catholic Cathedral of Baltimore by a sovereign of France were recently acquired by the Society from a dealer in London. Written in French, they have been translated for publication in these pages by the Rev. W. S. Reilly, D. D., of St. Mary's Seminary.

It will be recalled that early in his administration Archbishop Maréchal, himself a native of France, undertook the completion of the unfinished Cathedral. With the exception of the west towers and portico this was accomplished and the structure dedicated on May 31, 1821. Baron Hyde de Neuville, while French minister at Washington and afterward, served as mediary between the prelate and King Louis XVIII.

The paintings hang today where they were placed by the Archbishop, at the west ends of the north and south aisles. They are "St. Louis Burying His Plague Stricken Troops" by Karl von Steuben and the "Descent from the Cross" by Pierre Guérin.

The first letter lacks superscription. On the back of the second appears:

To His Excellency

The Ambassador of his Most Christian Majesty,
New York

Baltimore, October 4, 1819

Excellency,

It is with deep sentiments of gratitude that I have received the letter in which you kindly inform me that His Most Christian Majesty intends to present to our Metropolitan Church a picture worthy of the beauty of this edifice. When on reaching Paris you have the happiness to approach this excellent Prince, I earnestly beg you to lay at his feet the homage of my thanks and of those of the Catholics of the United States. Some trait of the life of St. Louis would be a very fitting subject; for instance, his heroic charity toward the plague-stricken in Egypt. The innumerable multitude of Americans of all creeds who will visit our church will behold with religious admiration this great King, the love of Europe and the terror of the Barbarians, laying aside his royal majesty to serve with his own hands his sick soldiers and to bury the dead. The sight of such a touching spectacle will naturally connect itself in their minds with the series of benefits which the posterity of St. Louis has poured forth upon the whole world, and Louis XVI in particular upon the United States.

The most advantageous exposition would be the end of the south aisle where I propose to raise an altar. To fill the vacant space, it would be neces-

sary that the picture be 12 feet wide by 16 high. It would be placed about two feet above the altar. A large side window which will be of the height of the picture and about eight feet away from the altar will give light which will be abundant and which, I think, will bring out the beauty of the colors.

I was always hoping that something would happen to keep you in this country. Your departure has been a real subject of sorrow for Washington. All the families which I have seen there recently are consoled only by the hope that you will soon come back to occupy the post which you have filled to such advantage for His Majesty, whilst winning the respect and confidence of the United States and of foreign powers.

I form, Excellency, very sincere wishes for your return. But if I should not have the happiness to see you here, I beg you to believe that in whatever country of the world H. M. may judge well to employ your great talents, I shall retain for you and for Mde De Neuville the sentiments of profound respect with which I am,

Excellency,
Your very humble servant
Amb. Arch. Balt.

Baltimore, Oct. 5, 1819

Excellency,

I fear I have forgotten to tell you when the Metropolitan Church will be finished. After consulting the workmen, it appears certain that I may perform the ceremony of consecration on the next feast of the Assumption, at the latest. So it would perhaps be fitting that the picture which His Majesty proposes to send us should arrive here in the course of the month of July. I should not, however, see much inconvenience in its coming a little later, if the artists employed by the Government could not finish the painting in so short a time.

I have never had a vocation to embrace the religious state, and least of all that of St. Francis, but you are so kind that very likely in putting aside my natural timidity in dealing with you, I am going to become guilty of indiscretion. Could you obtain for us *one* bell, from the Government? It would be enough that it should weigh 5 or 6 thousand. We should baptize it with great ceremony. Your excellency and Mde De Neuville would be the godfather and godmother, at least by proxy. Blanche or Mde d'Angoulême would be the name of the clamorous catechumen—a present of this kind would be highly prized by the Catholics who habitually frequent our metropolitan church.

I am with great respect, Excellency,
Your very humble servant
Amb. Arch. Balt.

[On back of letter]:

To His Excellency, the Baron C. Hyde de Neuville,
City of Washington.

Baltimore, February 20, 1821

Excellency,

We were all filled with joy by the news of your safe arrival at Norfolk. It had indeed been reported that you would be among us only in passing and that you would soon sail for the court of Brazil. I was flattering myself that the reports had no foundation; but the official Gazette gives us the certainty that we are losing you and that Rio de Janeiro is to have the good fortune to possess you, instead of Washington. All friends of France and of the United States regret infinitely that H. M. has not appointed you to a country where you command general respect and confidence; and I in particular, who know of all the good works of religion and of beneficence in which you and Mde. De Neuville have been constantly engaged, cannot but deplore this change in your destination however honorable it may be for you and however useful it may be to France. If you could at least leave us here the excellent Count de Mun! But you are taking him away without pity for us. The Gazette informs us that he is actually with you. Likely he will have spoken to you of a picture sent me some three months ago by His Majesty. I do not know yet whether it is the one you obtained from the bounty of the King, or if we may hope to have a second one as a companion piece in the Metropolitan Church. This picture is still in storage at the customhouse. In vain did the Count try to get it exempted from duty. It is doubtless to your Excellency that he leaves it to deliver this prisoner of His Majesty. It seems to me that you had made me hope for a fine bell. Have you succeeded in getting this present for us from our good King?

Before sailing you will doubtless have occasion to visit Baltimore. I should be delighted by this visit, were it only because it would allow me to offer to you and to Mde De Neuville the homage of the sincere respect and lively gratitude with which I am,

Excellency,

Your very humble servant

Amb. Arch. Balt.

Confidential

Baltimore, October 5, 1821

Your Excellency,

I have a secret to communicate to you and at the same time a service which I pray you to render me.

I have long since thought of going to France and of pushing on from there to Rome where the interests of the Church imperiously demand my presence. I do not yet know when it will be possible to start. I am told of a vessel which is to leave at the end of this month, from the port of New York for Le Havre. Maybe it will be possible for me to take advantage of it.

I need a passport from the Secretary of the United States, Mr. S. Adams, [*sic*] for I shall travel as Archbishop of Baltimore and a citizen of the United

States in different kingdoms of Europe. Will you have the kindness, Excellency, through one of your secretaries, to obtain this passport for me? It is essential that I receive it before next Thursday at latest.

Should you judge that it would be useful to have one also from your Excellency, for France in particular, I pray you to send it to me.

I do not know who is the ambassador of His Most Christian Majesty near the Holy See. A letter of Your Excellency in which you should ask him to support with all his influence the representations which I propose to make to His Holiness might be of eminent service to the welfare of Our Church here, so ill treated by the Propaganda.

I am daring to make many requests of your Excellency. But you have manifested in so many circumstances such touching kindness that I address you with full confidence. It is certainly useless to assure you that I should deem myself happy to be of any use to you either in France or in Italy.

My respects to Mde De Neuville. I present to you the same homage and am,

Excellency,

Your very humble servant

Amb. Arch. Balt.

Baltimore, February 16, 1823

M. le Baron,

You have given me so many tokens of your kindness both here and at Paris, when I was passing through that city recently, that I really cannot let a member of the Legation depart for France without asking him to give you this slight expression of my respect and of my gratitude.

You doubtless already know the story of my voyage. After being tossed about by a storm for several days, then after having got out of the Channel, the Captain took refuge in the port of Kinsale in Ireland. It is there that I had the sorrow to lose the excellent Baron de Truijl [?] and his amiable secretary, who, fatigued by the stormy weather, landed and left the boat. Since their departure, the "Six Frères" which in the port of Le Havre had appeared to me to be such a fine boat, seemed altogether changed into a floating prison. I must grant though that good Captain Williams did more than was possible to make my crossing agreeable. With the exception of a few favorable days, we experienced only contrary winds and calms. Thank God we landed happily at New York on November 21, all in good health though tired.

The newspapers have just given us an announcement which has been the subject of universal rejoicing. It is that instead of sending you to Constantinople, H. M. has named you Minister of the Interior. No doubt you would have been extremely useful to France in Turkey. However, we all believe here that with your talents and patriotism you will render him, at the head of such an important ministry, services that will be still more considerable. Besides, to tell you the truth, I would have been very sorry to see Mde. De Neuville among those long mustached Turks, and the Janisaries. A lady so kind, so gentle, so benevolent, so religious, is evidently made for the Court

of our Kings. To go to live at Constantinople appears to me contrary to her vocation.

I fear that I made a mistake in the dimensions of the picture which H. M. is having painted for my Cathedral. To correspond with the one I have it must be 11 feet and 3 inches wide by 12 feet 9 inches high, French measure. Perhaps there would still be time to give him these dimensions.

I always remember with emotion the amiable welcome given me by His Majesty; the interesting conversation with his august brother, Monsieur; and the touching kindness of Mde the Duchess of Angoulême and the Duchess of Berry. The children of the latter are ever present in my mind. They do not suspect that a poor Archbishop placed at the other extremity of the world prays every day that God may shed upon them His most abundant blessings; and still it is the pure truth. It would assuredly be ridiculous to ask you to present my homage to them. If, however, the occasion should offer you may assure them that they have no subjects who are more faithful and more devoted.

Adieu! my dear Baron. Heaven alone knows if ever I shall have the consolation to see you and your excellent Lady in this world. At least I shall never cease to form wishes for your welfare. Deign also on your side to keep a little place for me in your memory and to believe that I am with very sincere respect and gratitude.

Mr. le Baron,

Your very humble servant,

Amb. Arch. Balt.

SHIPS AND SHIPPING OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MARYLAND

By V. J. WYCKOFF *

(Concluded from Vol. XXXIV, page 283.)

From where did the vessels come which were found in the Maryland, waters, where were their home ports, their destinations, how long did they stay, what proportion of the trade was inter-colonial? There is information about such aspects of Maryland commerce, in most part for the last several decades of the century; and although no claim can be made that the data are complete, on a number of subjects they are adequate enough to allow reliable conclusions. Three major sources of information are used, all of which have been referred to before. They are the "Maryland Miscellaneous" and the "Navigation Bonds" lists and *Colonial Trade* by Morriss.¹⁸⁶ Where possible the presentation of the material will be in tabular form as the most concise and intelligible method of organization. There will be three groups of data: 1. those figures relating to all vessels, colonial and foreign, trading in Maryland waters, (the "all" is complete only in reference to the indicated sources); 2. colonial owned vessels including Maryland trading in Maryland; 3. Maryland owned vessels engaged in the external commerce of the colony.

All Vessels, Home Ports. The first item of interest about all the vessels concerns their ownership, or as it was put, "of what place." Supplementing the figures given in Table V is an occasional official comment drawn from the experiences of administrative officials. For instance in 1686 the Commissioners of Customs in Ireland writing to the similar officials in England to protest the reestablishment of the 1671 Navigation Acts said that after the expiration of that act in 1681 the tobacco trade shifted from Bristol and that area "to the Northern Ports, Viz., Chester, Liverpool, Workington & Whitehaven." One reason was the "great Corruption of ye Officers in the Port of Bristoll."¹⁸⁷ However, Bristol Channel ports continued to hold their own in world trade, and "Bristol, in the seventeenth century, was the greatest seaport in western England."¹⁸⁸

* Mr. Wyckoff is now a member of the faculty of the College of Commerce at the University of Maryland—EDRROR.

¹⁸⁶ See above, pp. 270-271. Morriss's references covered the years 1690-1699, pp. 85, 87, 88, 110-113, and were based on P. R. O., C. O. 5: 749.

¹⁸⁷ P. R. O., C. O. 324: 4, f.200.

¹⁸⁸ Andrews, *Colonial Period*, I, 302-303. An indication of the relative importance

All Vessels, Origins of Voyage and Destination. What ports of origin were recorded for the vessels trading to Maryland? Although more often than not "from what place" (port of origin) coincided with "of what place" (ownership) the "Maryland Miscellaneous"

TABLE V.

HOME PORTS OF COLONIAL AND ENGLISH VESSELS TRADING IN MARYLAND, 1689-1693¹

American Ports	Number of Vessels	Per cent. of Total	British Ports	Number of Vessels	Per cent. of Total
Maryland	41	17	London	82	33
New England.....	10	04	Bideford	25	10
New York.....	6	02	Bristol	15	06
Pennsylvania	3	01	Other ports ²	37	15
Delaware ³	5	02	Ireland	2	01
Virginia	10	04	Uncertain	9	04
Bermuda	1	*			
Barbados	2	01	Total.....	170	69
Total.....	78	31	Grand total ⁴	248	100

1. The reference for this table was the "Md. Miscell." list; the number of items for each of the years were 16 vessels for 1689, 70 for 1690, 91 for 1691, 52 for 1692, and 19 for 1693. That this table tends to neglect inter-colonial shipping will be brought out later in the discussion of such commerce.

2. The other outports with the number of vessels: Liverpool 7, Topsham 4, Barnstable 4, Plymouth 4, Stockton 4, Scarborough 3, Exeter 3, and 2 or 1 for Chester, Dartmouth, Falmouth, Hull, Lancaster, Lyme, Whitehaven.

3. In this and subsequent tables Delaware will be considered a separate entity because it with Newcastle appeared distinct from Pennsylvania on the "Md. Miscell." and "Navig. Bond" lists. Politically it did not have a separate legislature until 1704.

4. Calculations from three tables offered by Morriss give similar results. Taking the years 1690 through 1693 she listed 97 vessels coming from London (p. 87), 101 from the outports (p. 88), and 110 from the American colonies (p. 110). The distinction between "of what place" and "from what place" was not clearly made in her lists, but using such major classes for the ports the distinction with several hundred items is not important because the majority of vessels tended to leave and return to their home ports, that is, place of ownership or "of what place." The approximately equal division of shipping from London and the outports indicated in the above table was confirmed in an abstract of ships allowed to sail to Maryland and Virginia in 1691: 65 from London and 60 from the outports, Additional Manuscripts, no. 9764, f. 8.

* Less than 1 per cent.

list of ships in many instances gives both facts as well as "whither bound." About three-twelfths of the vessels during those years came from London, four-twelfths from the out-ports and the same number

of British ports in the first quarter of the century is contained in an article by R. G. Marsden, "English Ships in the Reign of James I." He assigned the ships to a total of 194 ports. The first twelve in order of importance with the number of ships follow: London 344, Ipswich 76, Hull 50, Plymouth 47, Newcastle 42, Bristol 37, Dover 37, Aldeburgh 36, Harwich 36, Leith 32, Yarmouth 32, Sandwich 30, Royal Historical Society, *Transactions*, n. s., XIX, 312-313. Marsden mentioned that "Materials for compiling a complete list do not exist."

from other American colonies and within Maryland, and one-twelfth could not be placed. In a more detailed way the following Table VI gives the ports of origin and destination.

Added interest about the voyages has been gained from a know-

TABLE VI

THE ORIGINS OF COMMERCIAL VOYAGES TO MARYLAND BY COLONIAL AND ENGLISH VESSELS AND THE DESTINATIONS UPON DEPARTURE, 1689-1693¹

Ports	Origin of Voyage		Destination	
	No. of Vessels	% of Total ²	No. of Vessels	% of Total
Maryland	28	12	—	—
New England.....	6	03	7	03
New York.....	5	02	5	02
Pennsylvania ³	6	03	—	—
Delaware	5	02	4	02
Virginia	10	04	18	08
Bermuda	2	01	1	*
Barbados	28	12	11	05
Total.....	90	39	46	20
London	65	27	97	43
Bideford	22	09	27	12
Bristol	10	04	14	06
Liverpool	5	02	8	04
Other outports ⁴	40	18	35	15
Total.....	142	60	181	80
Foreign ⁵	3	01	—	—
Total.....	145	100	181	100
Uncertain	13	—	21	—
Grand Total.....	248	—	248	—

1. The reference for this table was the "Md. Miscell." list.

2. The total of the known ports was taken as the base for the calculations of the percentages.

3. It is probable that 3 vessels returned to Pennsylvania.

4. The other out-ports had 5 or less items, with the usual ports listed and 1 vessel from Ireland, see Table V, note 2.

5. Rotterdam 1, Africa (Guinea) 2.

* Less than 1 per cent.

ledge of the repeated trips made by certain of the ship masters, the "Maryland Miscellaneous" and "Navigation Bonds" lists offering the basic information. It has been assumed that a return voyage is indicated by identical names for the master and vessel on different dates of entry. From 1683-1695 about 60 masters returned at least once in their vessels, that is, had two entries into Maryland, and 8 of those had records of three or four trips, usually a year apart. Fur-

thermore, some of those masters and/or owners possessed more than one vessel. A correlation of full names of the men with identical home ports indicates 21 cases in which two different boats or ships were owned at the same or different times, and there are 7 more names about which the facts are slightly doubtful. Incidentally most of the boats bore Christian names, the most frequent being "John."

All Vessels, Entering and Clearing. During periods of war convoys were insisted upon and the merchant vessels were retained at both ends of the voyage until a fleet could be assembled. At other times the entry and clearing of vessels in Maryland waters was determined by the tobacco seasons and the requirements of the individual ship masters or owners. To be sure ships often started across the ocean in groups, but vagaries of weather and the spur of competition were apt to change the composition of the original fleet and bring the members into provincial rivers in dribblets. The one fleet versus the numerous fleet controversy is of no immediate concern,¹³⁹ but there is cause for questioning the fairly frequent statement that both entries and clearings were almost confined to a few months in the year.¹⁴⁰ Table VII presents information on this subject for Maryland for part of the tenth decade, and subject to the following comments there is no reason to believe that the three years covered by the table were unique.

Although the winter months, October through March, were used for entry by about 58 per cent. of the vessels, there was some movement in and out of the Chesapeake and Potomac in each month of the year. Concentration on the cold months arose from the dread of a long stay during the summer months in which illness among the crews and attacks of worms on the ship bottoms appeared to be costly miseries of foreign vessels. The "Navigation Bonds" list stresses the last quarter of the year rather than the first. Because that list covers only vessels getting their bonds in Maryland one infers that very few English ships were included.¹⁴¹ And such was the case;

¹³⁹ Morriss, pp. 40-42; Wyckoff, *Tobacco Regulation*, pp. 112-114.

¹⁴⁰ "The principal month for sailing [from England] was September [though] not universal," bringing the vessels into plantation waters in November barring detailed trading in Bermuda and the West Indies, Bruce, I 622-623. Governor Berkeley of Virginia writing in 1700 to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations said that no ships came except by chance from the middle of March until October or November, and thus February to June were the out-going months, P. R. O., C. O. 5: 715, f. 1.

¹⁴¹ Naturally the majority of the securities on those bonds given in Maryland were residents of the colony. An analysis was made with these results: the years 1679-1696 were divided into two periods and for each period the locations of the men going on the bonds as securities were classified by Maryland counties, other colonies, London, merchants on ships and unknown. In the first period, 1679-1689, among the Maryland

TABLE VII. MOVEMENT OF COLONIAL AND ENGLISH VESSELS IN MARYLAND WATERS, 1679-1696

Month	"Maryland Miscellaneous" ¹ 1690-1692						"Navigation Bonds" ² 1679-1696					
	Vessels Entering			Vessels Clearing			Vessels Entering					
	Number	% of Total	% Groups	Number	% of Total	% Groups	Number	% of Total	% Groups			
January	10	05	35	48	6	03	23	12	27	36	50	
February	37	17			11	05	16	08				
March	28	13			14	07	12	06				
April	28	13	31	66	14	07	18	09	23	25	39	50
May	27	12			50	25	18	09				
June	13	06			43	21	9	05				
July	8	04	12	25	16	08	17	09	16	34	39	50
August	7	03			38	19	4	02				
September	9	05			1	01	10	05				
October	12	06	22	34	2	01	13	07	04	05	32	
November	20	09			2	01	24	13				
December	14	07			3	02	28	15				
	213	100			200	100	192	100				

1. The years 1689 and 1693 were omitted because the data were too scarce for use in such a table.

2. The allocation of the 192 vessels to the different months has been done on the assumption that the date of the bond coincided with the entry date, or was very near to it. In turn this assumption rested both upon the fact that in 31 out of 33 cases where both bond dates and entry dates were available there was this coincidence, and also upon the reasonableness of such an assumption.

of the 192 vessels recorded (eliminating 33 duplicates of the "Maryland Miscellaneous" list and 2 incomplete items) 51 per cent. had home ports in Maryland or other American colonies, 21 per cent. from the out-ports, 11 owned in London and 17 per cent. were uncertain. Thus it seems that the colonial vessels with a shorter voyage entered Maryland waters in the early winter months. Also the out-port captains freed from the regulations of London shipping took advantage of early arrival. When the weight of the London ships is included, as in the "Maryland Miscellaneous" list, the major movement into the province was in the first quarter of the year, the later winter months.

All Vessels, Length of Stay. How long did the vessels remain in Maryland? A general idea of ship movements is gained from a summary by Governor Nicholson who found that

[there was] commonly a month or six Weeks difference betwixt the first and Last Ships of any fleets coming into the Capes, 2dly that after they are got in, they are sometimes a week or a fortnight a getting to their Port and sending their goods some fifty some a hundred miles, 3dly When they are got to their Port, they are usually as long before they can fit out their sloops in Order to bring their Tobacco on Board which they fetch some fifty some a hundred miles, and lastly when they are loaded & Cleared for Sailing they may be hindred again by Contrary Winds before they can quit the Capes.¹⁴²

Lending itself to statistical treatment is information on this subject for 213 vessels; it is presented in Table VIII.

All Vessels, Types. At the first part of this paper the various types of vessels trading in Maryland were described. And although an idea of size has been given from time to time for individual ships

counties Calvert led with 49 names, next was St. Mary's with 26, then Talbot 19, Somerset 13, and the rest of the counties had less than 10 each; the merchants on the ships accounted for 8 securities, and the miscellaneous group 21. In the second period, 1690-1696, the Eastern Shore counties came forward in prominence having a larger total, 43, than the Western Shore counties, 39. Talbot County on the Eastern Shore led with 25 names, then Calvert 19, Anne Arundel 10, St. Mary's 8 (reflecting the loss of the provincial capital), and the others with less than 10. A few men were securities on a number of bonds, for instance Sharp of Talbot County was listed 17 times, Edloe of Calvert 15, Lynes of St. Mary's 14.

From one of the "Navigation Bonds" lists, f. 87, it was possible to get an idea of the length of time between the issuing of the bond (probably at the time of entry), the date of the certificate (discharging the bond) and the date of filing the certificate (cancelling the bond and releasing the securities). Because only 36 items were complete, the results were not conclusive even for the colonial vessels which predominated. A certificate was issued, indicating the end of that voyage, within a year for 69 per cent. of the vessels, and within two years 86 per cent. of the bonds had been certified. It took about another six months to get the certificates returned to the naval officers and filed in official discharge of the bonds.

¹⁴² *Archives*, XIX, 152.

TABLE VIII

LENGTH OF STAY OF COLONIAL AND ENGLISH VESSELS IN MARYLAND, 1690-1692

Days in Maryland ¹	Number of Vessels			Vessels, Total	% of Total	Percentage Groups	
	1690	1691 ²	1692				
1- 14.....	6	10	6	22	10	18	31
15- 44.....	5	8	4	17	08		
45- 74.....	13	8	6	27	13	40	69
75-104.....	23	19	16	58	27		
105-134.....	11	15	13	39	18	42	42
135-.....	12	31	7	50	24		
	70	91	52	213	100		

1. The length of stay in Maryland was figured from the date of entry through the date of clearing. The reference was the "Md. Miscell." list.

2. It will be noticed that for 1691 the length of stay was longer than in the other two years and longer than the time indicated by the occasional reference. An explanation can be offered. In 1690 the peak of entries came in May, later than usual; and with a three months stay gathering the cargoes of tobacco the major clearing was not until August in which month 60% of the vessels left ("Md. Miscell."). Several months later the normal movement of fleets toward Maryland started, but upon arrival the merchants probably found that the recently departed vessels (August, 1690) had just about cleaned up the tobacco from the plantations. Such was a common experience when a group of merchants arrived too soon after the departure of a previous fleet.

TABLE IX

TYPES, BURDENS AND CARGOES OF COLONIAL AND ENGLISH VESSELS IN MARYLAND COMMERCE, 1689-1693

Type	Number of Vessels	Tons Burden		Cargo, hhd.s. Tobacco ¹		Guns Mounted		Ownership
		Range	Median	Range	Median	% of Vessels	No. of Guns	
Sloop ...	30	6-25	10	2-150	25	03.3	2	Colonial
Brigantine	17	10-40	20	3-87	50	06	2	Colonial
Ketch ..	10	15-70	25	34-162	100	20	2-5	70% Colonial 30% English
Bark ...	11	25-50	30	8-166	50	20	2-3	40% Colonial 60% English
Pink ...	34	20-260	100	15-750	230	60	4-12	10% Colonial 90% English
Square sterned ²	82	15-400	100	5-932	300	80	2-34	10% Colonial 90% English
Flyboat .	12	80-300	200	203-715	575	100	4-18	Foreign ³
Hackboat.	9	60-240	200	110-804	655	100	6-22	English
Uncertain	43							
	248							

1. The number of hogsheads or the nature of any other cargo was not given for every vessel.

2. A general term covering many types, but excluding the pink which had a narrow or rounded stern.

3. Most of the ships classed as foreign built were "made free" for the colonial trade. They were usually Dutch built.

and boats, it is from the "Maryland Miscellaneous" list that more complete information comes. There is no reason to believe that the data presented in the following Table IX though taken from records in the tenth decade are not representative for the seventeenth century as a whole and for much of the eighteenth. For the sake of comparison the range of the ships of the East India Company was from 250-600 tons; and in the years from 1673-1676 for 209 foreign-built ships made free (they were usually Dutch) the average tonnage was 162.1.¹⁴³ Quite naturally the larger the vessel the wider was its trading area. Thus the sloops were engaged in the inter-colonial commerce as were the smaller brigs, ketches and barks, though now and then a boat of 15-20 tons made the trip across the ocean. Also the larger the vessel the greater likelihood that it was English or foreign built. Of the 248 vessels about two-thirds were from English yards; most of the balance were American built. The ownership proportions were about the same.

Colonial Vessels, Home Ports, Origins of Voyage and Destinations. Now for a short analysis of purely colonial shipping in Maryland commerce. For the inter-colonial trade including Bermuda and the West Indies there are pieces of information from the first trip of the pinnace *Dove* to Boston in the summer of 1634 carrying corn and buying fish.¹⁴¹ But detailed data of a quantitative sort are lacking until the last two decades. Figures from the "Maryland Miscellaneous" list make a real contribution to information about maritime activities in Maryland for the last decade of the seventeenth century and bore the endorsement of Lord Baltimore, but they cannot be considered definitive. Probably the figures under-emphasize the importance of colonial vessels and particularly those from New England. Contemporary material of that period indicates the predominance of New England vessels in colonial shipping and the conclusions of Morriss seem justified that "more boats came into Maryland from New England than from any other [American] place. Next to these

¹⁴³ Violet Barbour, "Marine Risks and Insurance in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, I, 562.

¹⁴⁴ *Archives*, IV, 251-255. For the other end of the colonial trade with Maryland see Curtis Nettels, "The Economic Relations of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, 1680-1715," *Jr. Ec. and Bus. Hist.*, III, 185-215. Some efforts toward cooperation were made, for instance by William Penn in 1697 who suggested an annual meeting of two delegates from each colony to handle cases of emigrating debtors, of criminals, of disturbances to commerce, of external enemies; but the spirit of individualism and definite colonial schisms were too far developed to allow such cooperation until England's trade policies drew them together in the 18th century. P. R. O., C. O. 324: 6, ff. 12-17; C. C. P., 1696-1697, nos. 694, 987. D'Avenant about the same time put forward a similar scheme, *Works*, II, 40-41.

the largest part of the [Maryland] trade was actually done by Maryland vessels, as the Council stated."¹⁴⁵

But for several years at least the edge which the northern ship owners and masters had over local interests in the Maryland trade was not conspicuous. Reports without prejudice were no more a virtue in those days than currently, and it was to be expected that official statements from Maryland would play down the importance of shipping other than that from England. Too much independence of England was not to be emphasized, and such a consideration possibly accounted for the relatively minor position of colonial vessels on the "Maryland Miscellaneous" list, particularly the New England boats and ships.¹⁴⁶ Illustrative of that reticence was the statement of the provincial Council referred to by Morriss. Asked by English officials to give the details of the Maryland commerce, the Lower House of the Assembly, May-June, 1697, drew up the following reply to which the Governor and Council as the Upper House gave approval:

This province hath little traffick with any other [of] his Ma^{tyes} Colonys in America or else where, and the little traffick which is vsed is by exporting hence porke beife pipe staves timber and such like together with wheat fflour & some small quantities of tobacco to Barbadoes either by small Craft belonging to this province or new England who trade here for Rum sugar & malasses most especially & some parcells of fish & some [inconsiderable] wooden wares of their owne manufacture & this province hath noe supply of any woolen manufacture else where but from England except that of the native wool of this province our necessity hath taught vs to make some course stockings & clothing for servants and slaves &c.¹⁴⁷

To be sure the total of external colonial vessels a year probably averaged 30 and that number scattered over the broad waters of the province could well be termed "little traffick," but it was about one-third of the total shipping which came from without the colony. Several sources of information are available to allow a fairly correct allocation of colonial vessels trading in Maryland; the data are given in Tables X and XI.

As has been mentioned, it would seem that for colonial vessels the "Navigation Bonds" list and the figures presented by Morriss are closer to reality than the records of the "Maryland Miscellaneous," which is the best source for non-colonial ships. Thus from the material offered there is not a great deal of difference between Mary-

¹⁴⁵ Morriss, p. 113.

¹⁴⁶ See above, Table V

¹⁴⁷ *Archives*, XIX, 540.

TABLE X. HOME PORTS OF COLONIAL VESSELS TRADING TO MARYLAND

Home Ports	" Maryland Miscellaneous "		" Navigation Bonds "		Morris ¹	
	1689-1693		1679-1696		1690-1699	
	No. of Vessels	% of Total	No. of Vessels	% of Total	No. of Vessels	% of Total
Maryland	41	53	33	34	84	28
New England.....	10	13	40	41	89	30
New York.....	6	08	13	13	43	14
Pennsylvania.....	3	04	—	—	33	11
West Jersey.....	—	—	1	01	1	*
Delaware.....	5	06	1	01	—	—
Virginia.....	10	13	3	03	29	10
Carolina.....	—	—	—	—	5	02
Barbados.....	2	02	4	04	8	03
Bermuda.....	1	01	3	03	3	01
Uncertain ²	—	—	—	—	3	01
	78	100	98	100	298	100

1. Morris, pp. 110-113; taken from P. R. O., C. O. 5: 749, *passim*. In the material from Morris, Delaware was evidently combined with Pennsylvania.

2. The uncertain items were called "Plantation."

* Less than 1 per cent.

TABLE XI

THE ORIGINS OF COMMERCIAL VOYAGES TO MARYLAND BY COLONIAL VESSELS AND DESTINATIONS UPON DEPARTURE

Ports	Origins of the Voyages				Destinations			
	" Md. Miscell. "		Morris ¹		" Md. Miscell. "		Morris ¹	
	1689-1693		1690-1699		1689-1693		1690-1699	
	No. of Vessels	% of Total ²	No. of Vessels	% of Total	No. of Vessels	% of Total	No. of Vessels	% of Total
Maryland	26	34	41	17	—	—	11	5
New England.....	6	08	70	30	7	11	53	26
New York.....	6	08	35	15	4	06	26	13
Pennsylvania.....	6	08	26	11	—	—	19	09
West Jersey.....	—	—	1	*	—	—	1	*
Delaware.....	5	06	—	—	2	03	—	—
Virginia.....	10	13	23	10	17	26	30	15
Carolina.....	—	—	6	03	—	—	4	02
Bermuda.....	2	03	3	01	1	02	2	01
West Indies ⁴	15	20	28	12	10	15	34	17
Total.....	76	99	233	99	41	63	180	88
" England ".....	—	—	1	*	6	09	16	08
London.....	1	01	—	—	7	11	4	02
Out-ports.....	—	—	—	—	10	15	1	*
Madeira.....	—	—	2	01	1	02	4	02
Total.....	77	100	236	100	65	100	205	100
Uncertain.....	1	—	62	—	13	—	93	—
Grand Total..	78	—	298	—	78	—	298	—

1. Morris, pp. 110-113; taken from P. R. O., C. O. 5: 749.

2. Because of the large number of uncertain items, the total of the known ports was taken as the base for the calculations of the percentages.

3. In the material from Morris, Delaware was evidently combined with Pennsylvania.

4. Predominantly Barbados.

* Less than 1 per cent.

land and New England in the activity of their respective merchantmen in Maryland commerce though a slight advantage lies with the northern ship masters. Meager figures, though of some pertinence, are also found in the list of "Navigation Bonds taken in Maryland and for which Legal Certificates have been produced."¹⁴⁸ It is also reasonable to conclude that in addition to officially recorded commerce there were numerous trips by boats between Baltimore's palatinate and the adjoining colonies, Virginia and Pennsylvania. The southern boundary line for Maryland was the high water mark on the Virginia side of the Potomac, an inter-colonial voyage which could be taken without benefit of naval officers. And from the northern reaches of the Chesapeake short land portages made trade with Pennsylvania and the Delaware River area an easy, profitable reality.

Maryland Vessels, Origins of Voyages and Destinations. But what about the Maryland owned vessels; what were their ports of call? Of course pretty close estimates can be made from the tables already presented; however, an analysis of the data on this one subject will be informative and an organization of the figures is offered in Table XII. As might be expected most of the Maryland owned vessels gave their own colony as the starting point for the recorded sailing, though from one-third to one-half had entered from Barbados. That West Indies island was the most favored destination and it with other American colonial ports drew somewhat over two-thirds of the Maryland boats and ships. If the "Maryland Miscellaneous" list under-emphasizes the direct commercial relations with other colonies in locally owned boats, to the same extent the Public Record Office data used by Morriss probably slights the trips by Maryland ship masters to London and the outports.

During the seventeenth century Maryland remained not only an agricultural colony but also a specialist in one crop, tobacco. And because the leaf was used with increasing eagerness in England and Europe the planters of Baltimore's palatinate could afford to leave the responsibilities to others for getting the hogsheads from the multitude of plantation wharves and shipping them across the ocean. Yet it is not reasonable to suppose that no ship-building went on in the colony until the last decade of the century when a definite report

¹⁴⁸ This was on folios 87, 87v, of P. R. O., C. O. 5: 714. Assuming that the place where the certificates were granted was the official final destination, the results were these: out of 14 vessels 7 went to New England, 2 to New York, 2 to Virginia, 1 to Bermuda, 1 to Nevis, W. I., and 1 to New Providence, W. I. The years covered by this list were 1685-1695.

was made about this activity. On the contrary it may be stated that boats and rafts as distinguished from ships were a common product of the labors on each water-front plantation. The extreme dependence of the people for many decades upon the waterways for transportation of themselves and their products surely compelled such con-

TABLE XII

THE ORIGINS OF COMMERCIAL VOYAGES TO MARYLAND BY MARYLAND OWNED VESSELS AND THE DESTINATIONS UPON DEPARTURE

Ports	Origins of the Voyages				Destinations			
	"Md. Miscell." 1689-1693		Morriss ¹ 1690-1699		"Md. Miscell." 1689-1693		Morriss 1690-1699	
	No. of Vessels	% of Total ²	No. of Vessels	% of Total	No. of Vessels	% of Total	No. of Vessels	% of Total
Maryland	25	63	32	61	1	03	4	11
New England.....	1	02	—	—	4	11	2	06
Pennsylvania	3	08	1	02	—	—	3	08
Delaware ³	1	02	—	—	1	03	—	—
Virginia	—	—	1	02	6	17	7	19
Carolina	—	—	1	02	—	—	1	03
Barbados	8	20	15	29	9	26	14	39
Bermuda	1	02	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total.....	39	97	50	96	21	60	31	86
"England"	—	—	—	—	2	06	1	03
London	1	02	—	—	6	17	—	—
Out-ports ⁴	—	—	—	—	6	17	—	—
Madeira	—	—	2	04	—	—	4	11
Total.....	40	100	52	100	35	100	36	100
Uncertain	1	—	32	—	6	—	48	—
Grand Total...	41	—	84	—	41	—	84	—

1. Morriss, pp. 110-113; taken from P. R. O., C. O. 5: 749.

2. Because of the large number of uncertain items, the total of the known ports was taken as the base for the calculations of the percentages.

3. In the material from Morriss, Delaware was evidently combined with Pennsylvania.

4. The number of Maryland vessels to the individual outports follow: Liverpool 2, Stockton 2, Bideford 1, Lyme 1.

struction. Moreover, from the returns of the sheriffs in 1697 it was shown that somewhat over 70 vessels had been built in Maryland since 1689 and more than that number bought. One may feel sure that positive participation in ship ownership and construction had started in previous years even though on a more restricted scale. Support for such a conclusion comes from the occasional items in the archives of the period.

There was a conspicuous contrast in the locally initiated maritime

activities of Maryland and New England, possibly a reflection of contrasting economic geographies as much as personal characteristics or political philosophies. Was life in Maryland more leisurely? Perhaps, but tobacco plantations did not run themselves, and the relative dominance of northern colonies in colonial shipping might not have rested upon greater aptitudes for assumption of risks, physical and financial, or a greater display of virtues peculiar to a materialistic pioneer community. When crop diversification seemed advisable, when manufacturing of plain materials became a necessity, when the dependence upon merchants and ship masters of England and the colonies proved irritating,—then the planters of Maryland began to think of something else than tobacco. They took advantage of their forests, of their local craftsmen and put their own vessels into the external commerce of the province. Thus it seems that during the seventeenth century the maritime activities of Maryland and local participation in them were proportionate to the needs and facilities of Lord Baltimore's province.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ This conclusion is tentative. Somewhat in contrast one may refer to a late 17th century comment on Virginia by Messrs. Hartwell, Blair and Chilton, prominent residents of that colony. The similarity between Maryland and Virginia in climate, geography and economic activities (mainly tobacco cultivation) during the century make their opinions pertinent to an appraisal of Maryland. They wrote that "as to all the Natural Advantages of a Country, [Virginia] is one of the best, but as to the improved Ones, one of the worst of all the *English* Plantations in America." By improved advantages they meant ports, markets, ships, seamen, manufacturers, educated children, in sum "an industrious and thriving People, . . . an happy Government in Church and State." The causes for such backwardness they found difficult to determine, but there were "the narrow, selfish Ends of most of their Governors . . . (and) the Obstinacy of the People" especially in settling in towns. Also they had a severe word for the staple, tobacco. It would be an excellent product if the planters did not mix the leaf with trash; such adulterated tobacco so glutted the market "that it becomes a meer Drug, and will not clear the Freight and Custom." Further, as soon as the soil was exhausted by tobacco (and corn) the land "runs up again in Underwoods." Then came the final indictment: tobacco being only a summer occupation the planters "acquire great Habits of Idleness all the rest of the Year." *The Present State of Virginia*, pp. 2, 5-6, 8.

Evidently the book caused no little trouble in Virginia. In one of the copies at the Library of Congress there are ink notes unsigned, but dated 1727 to the effect that the book had not been published with the consent of the authors, and that all the grievances mentioned in it had been redressed by that date.

MATTHEW ARUNDEL OF WARDOUR CASTLE

vs.

MATHEW HOWARD OF VIRGINIA

By JOHN BAILEY CALVERT NICKLIN

For many years the question of the paternity of Mathew Howard, immigrant to Virginia, and perhaps later to Maryland, has puzzled and irritated descendants and genealogists. The writer is unfortunately unable to throw any light upon the parentage in question, but he is able to furnish the unquestionable proof that Mathew Howard was not Matthew Arundel under another name. Long before the Virginian immigrant came to the New World, Matthew Arundel had ended his short life of eleven years and had been interred in a London church. The details of his parentage, ancestry, etc. are given in this article.

In a rare book, Part III of *Genealogical Collections Illustrating the History of Roman Catholic Families of England Based on the Lawson Manuscript*, edited by J. Jackson Howard, LL.D., F.S.A., Maltravers Herald Extraordinary, and H. Seymour Hughes, printed for private circulation only, is found the history of the Arundell family, as well as the proof that Matthew Arundel did not become Mathew Howard who came to Virginia "before 1624." On page 160 it is stated that "The right honourable Anne Baroness Arundell of Wardour daughter of Miles Philipson in the co. of Westmerland Esquier wife of the right honourable Thomas Lord Arundell of Wardour, Departed this mortell life at Lennox house in Drury Lane in the parrish of St. Giles in the fields near London the xxviiijth day of June 1637. She had issue by her said Lord three sonnes and 6 daughters Mathew Arundell eldest sonne. Thomas Arundell, 2d sonne and Frederick Arundell, 3d sonne, all dead within age."

On page 173 appear these inscriptions from Tisbury, Wiltshire, from Border Legends copied from Ms. at Wardour Castle:

Here Lyeth Anne Philipson
Daughter of Myles Philipson of Crook in the County Westmer
land Esquire and Second Wyfe
Of Thomas Lord Arundell of Wardour who dyed the 28 of June
1637

Tho D'ns Arund
ellius Primus Baro de Warder et Sacri Romani Imperii
Comes Obiit 7^o Die
Novembris Aetatis Suae 79 Ano Dni 1639
Sicut Pullus Hirundini sic
Clamabo Isaiae 38 v. 14

The translation of this latter inscription is freely: Thomas first Lord Arundell of Wardour Castle and Count of the Holy Roman Empire died Nov. 7, 1639 in the 79th year of his age. Like a crane or a swallow so did I chatter. (The extract is from the 14th verse of the 38th chapter of the Book of Isaiah and alluded to the swallows on the Arundel coat-of-arms).

The will of this Thomas, dated 5 Nov., 1639 and proved 3 Dec., 1639 by William Peasley, Esq., directed that he was to be buried in the same manner as his father, Sir Matthew Arundel, was, without any vain ostentation. "My friend Wm. Peasley of London, Esq^r & John Morgan of Holbourne, Co. Midd., gent., Ex'ors." The will was witnessed by Geo. Barber, Rich. Peasley, Wm. Smith, D. Callenoba, John Gatwarche and John Ellis.

There is a long pedigree of the family and on page 233 it states that Sir Thomas Arundell, Knight, 1st Baron Arundell of Wardour, was eldest son and heir of Sir Matthew Arundell (1535-1598). He married, firstly (articles before marriage dated 19 June, 1585), Mary, only daughter of Henry Wriothesley, 2nd Earl of Southampton, by his wife, Mary, daughter of Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, K. G. She was buried at Tisbury 27 June, 1607. He married, secondly, at St. Andrew's, Holborn, London, 1 July, 1608, Anne third daughter of Miles Philipson of Crook, Co. Westmoreland, Esq., by his wife, Barbara, sister and co-heiress of Francis Sandys of Conished, co. Lancaster, and widow of ——— Thurgood. She died 28 June 1637, in London and was buried, 4 July following, at Tisbury. Ad'm. granted to her daughter Catherine Eure, widow, 1 Feb., 1639/40. By this second marriage Thomas, Lord Arundel, had 3 sons and 6 daughters:

- I. MATTHEW, who was baptized at St. Andrew's, Holborn, London, 19 June, 1609. He was mentioned in a deed of entail dated 1616 and died in Castle Yard, Holborn, London, and was buried 2 June, 1620, in the Chancel of St. Andrew's, Holborn. [So he did not come to Virginia in 1624, at the age of 15].
- II. Thomas, who died in infancy.
- III. Frederick, who also died in infancy.
- I. Catherine, whose marriage settlement was dated 1 Nov., 1627. Her will, in which she is described as of the Parish of St. Gyles in the Fields, Co. Middlesex, was dated 11 Aug., 1657 and proved 12 Sept., following. She married Ralph Eure (1606-1640), who died in his father's lifetime, in Southwark, London.
- II. Mary, who was living in 1683. She married Sir John Somersett, Knight, who died about 1673, aged about 62, at Louvain in Flanders.

- III. Anne, who was buried at Tisbury, 23 July, 1649, aged 34. Her portrait, by Van Dyke, is at Wardour Castle. She married Cecil Calvert, later second Lord Baltimore.
- IV. Frances, who married, as his second wife, John Talbot, 10th Earl of Shrewsbury. Died 8 Feb., 1653.
- V. Margaret (a twin with Clare), who was baptized 4 Feb., 1619/20 in Lord Arundel's house in Castle Yard, London, and recorded under date of 4 March following at St. Andrew's, Holborn. Died 1638. She married, as his first wife, Sir John Fortescue of Salden, co. Bucks, 2nd Bart. Baptized 13 July, 1614, at Mursley, co. Bucks and was buried there 14 June, 1683.
- VI. Clare, who was baptized 4 Feb., 1619/20. Articles before marriage dated 7 July, 1638. She married Humphrey Weld of Lulworth, co. Dorset, Esq. Died 1685.

Further proof of the early death of Matthew Arundel is supplied by the following documents:

(SEAL)

7 St Andrews St
Holborn Circus, E. C. 4
23. 3. 38

Dear Sir,

Enclosed please find the certified copy of the burial of Matthew Arundel 2 June 1620 as requested in your letter of the 16 March. The fee is 3/7

Yours faithfully

A. T. Jones, Verger.

PARISH OF ST. ANDREW, HOLBORN,
in the City of London and in the County of Middlesex
Extract from the Register Book of Burials.

Matthew Arundell sone of Thomas Lo: Arundell out of Castill yard in holborne was buried in the Chancell under the Table the 2: June 1620

The above is a true Extract from the Registered Book of Burials kept in the Parish Registry. Witness my hand this 22nd day of March in the year 1938.

(signed): J. R. HOWDEN, Rector

And now for Mathew Howard of Lower Norfolk Co., Va., who was there as early as Feb. 8, 1637/8 when Robert Taylor was granted 100 acres of land in that country "bounded on the West with Mathew Howard." On May 26, 1638 Mathew Hayward (*sic*) was granted 150 acres in the same county, due for the transportation of his wife Ann and 2 other persons. As to Mathew Howard or Hayward (Haward, Hayward or Heyward being various spellings of the name): Mathew Howard the elder was made executor of the estate of Richard Hall of Lower Norfolk Co., and Cornelius Lloyd wit-

nessed Hall's will which was probated in 1648. It provided that his "penorial property" go to Ann, Elizabeth, John, Samuel, Mathew and Cornelius Howard, and Ann, wife of Mathew Howard. No relationship was mentioned, which seems to preclude the assumption that Ann Howard was his daughter. The grant to Mathew for transporting his wife Ann (1638) seems to indicate that he was married in England. However, he may have transported first and married later. There has long been the claim that Mathew was the son of John Howard who was killed in the Massacre of 1622, but he is not mentioned among the survivors of that tragedy. However, he may have been in England at the time and migrated to Virginia afterward. There is no doubt that his name was Howard and nothing else.

John Howard of Maryland (son of this Mathew) used (1696) an armorial seal which shows the undifferenced arms of the Howards (not the Arundels), viz: a bend between 6 crosses crosslet fitchée. However, this seal was willed to him (1683) by Henry Howard of Anne Arundel Co., who made the bequest without calling the legatee a kinsman of any kind. In 1661 (Liber 7, p. 247) Mathew Howard (Jr.) was assigned land by Henry Catlin, while on page 249 mention is made of land due Cornelius Howard and brothers, Mathew, Samuel and John, all of Anne Arundel Co. To Samuel Howard was granted 900 acres, together with his brothers, these same three, in 1658 (p. 251), on the south side of the Severn River. In 1649 John Howard and brothers, Samuel, Mathew and Cornelius were referred to as of London (p. 253). On July 3, 1650, there was a grant of 350 acres on the Severn River to Mathew Howard, but there is no record of his actually taking up the land or even coming to Maryland. In 1659 Philip Howard was called "orphant" (of Mathew Howard, dec'd.). So it is by no means certain that Mathew Howard of Anne Arundel Co., Md., was identical with Mathew Howard the elder of Lower Norfolk Co., Va., in 1645. He may have been the son of that name rather than the father, who may have died in Virginia or returned to England. I am indebted to Dr. Arthur Adams of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, for the loan of the photostatic copy of the burial certificate of Matthew Arundell (1620).

BOOK REVIEWS

Charles' Gift: Salute to a Maryland House of 1650. By HULBERT FOOTNER.
New York, Harper & Brothers, 1939. 290 pp. \$3.00.

Since 'all the world loves a lover,' every love-story honestly and unaffectedly related by an interesting man or woman—still joyously under the spell of profound emotion—is a delight to the reader. Such a sensitive and revealing record of a deep and enduring passion is *Charles' Gift*.

But this is a love story with a difference. It chanced that Hulbert Footner, nearly thirty years ago, fell ardently in love with a house—a house on the north shore of the Patuxent River—'a house ancient in years and beauty.'

Like every true lover, Mr. Footner has been constant, possessive and proud to admit he is also possessed. He belongs to his home as much as the lovely old house belongs to him. With an art all the more graceful because it seems unconscious and utterly unpretentious, he is not content in celebrating the charms of his inamorata to tell us merely what she is today, or even how she has grown more radiant under his affectionate guidance and protection, but he wants us to know what memories and what events in the distant past, gave to her the character and the beauty which are so dear to him.

Therefore, the author, having drawn the portrait of the house itself, having set it in its frame of an unspoiled country side, and dramatized the neighborhood with vivid little sketches of the men and women—white and black—who cast their shadows on the 'walls of Charles' Gift, slips back into the past and tells us, with clarity and vigor, what the house remembers—what stirring and historic happenings occurred under its 'steep roof with the big chimneys.'

And, indeed, the house and the site itself may well move the interest of the historian and the antiquarian. Erected in 1650, it is, if not the oldest house in Maryland, almost certainly the second in age. It was built by Richard Preston, who seems to have begun as a not too tolerant Puritan, and who later, by some fascinating and unknown process of rebirth, became transformed into the 'King of the Quakers.' Perhaps his status as King relieved him somewhat of his Quaker obligations of patient non-resistance to evil, for he appears to have been a forthright, resolute man, and his religious precepts did not deter him from playing a prominent part in the stormy conflict for Provincial domination during the days when the struggle in Maryland between Cavalier and Puritan echoed faintly the thunder of the English Civil War between the King and the Parliament. At Charles' Gift in those early days the Provincial Court had its sessions and meted out a none-too-consistent justice to the recalcitrant and the unwary. During the attempted Puritan ascendancy the General Assembly sat in 'the Big Room' and hatched plans for the destruction of the authority of Lord Baltimore's government. In 1655, several boatloads of armed men came sailing up the Patuxent to Charles' Gift, sent by Governor Stone, Lord Baltimore's representative, to apprehend Mr. Richardson Preston, and, perhaps, to seize any compromising records which might be found there. Preston was at the time in Providence (afterwards Annapolis) where the Puritan capital had been established. So the house was inhabited only by women and children; but the ladies made a stout resistance.

They garrisoned the dormer windows and poured hot water on the attacking party until the ammunition being exhausted or chilled, the enemy broke into the fortress. Nobody was seriously injured in this scuffle but someone has called this brush 'the first act of war between Englishmen and Englishmen in America,' though it was, of course, completely overshadowed by the bloody little battle which occurred soon after when Governor Stone and about two hundred Cavaliers, marching up to Providence on the Severn, were there defeated and captured with fatal casualties of over fifty men.

During the War of Independence, the house was in the possession of the Parran family, one of whom, Captain Richard Parran, was described as 'a great patriot during the Revolution.' From the lips of one of Mr. Footner's present day neighbors, we are given a spirited narrative of a miniature naval action at the mouth of the River between Joshua Barney's men and the British soldiers and sailors, who were shortly afterwards to triumph at Bladensburg and to burn Washington.

It would be interesting to know what happened in and near this ancient home during the troubled days of the War Between the States—whether in this tidewater area of Maryland so nearly akin to Eastern Virginia in tradition and sentiment, and so remote from Federal observation and control, dark plots for the transmission of intelligence and supplies were woven in 'the Big Room' of Charles' Gift, and whether secret couriers bearing cryptic and fateful despatches, found refuge under 'the steep roof'—or peered eagerly through 'the dormer windows,' to make sure the pursuer was not on the trail. On this point the author is silent, presumably because neither document nor legend has given him warrant to speak.

The book, however, has never been allowed to assume the form of a history—no matter how exciting or how illuminating are the historical episodes of which the author tells. On the contrary, the house is, throughout, the heroine of this warm biography, and every incident, description, character sketch or personal avowal is somehow made to relate itself to Charles' Gift or the gracious plot of land which is its brightly colored garment.

This technique enables the author to give to his work a sense of unity as he deals with what would otherwise have been a rather rambling and disjointed assemblage of unrelated material. For between the covers of this book one finds not only much well told history but transcripts of contemporary gossip,—reflections on manners of yesterday and today—autobiographical detail told with a disarming absence of self-consciousness—little musings on racial and economic problems—hints on practical gardening and automobile repairing—practical experience in amateur architecture—together with whatever other bits of fact and fancy the author felt impelled to bestow upon the reader. Such a text might easily have degenerated into a confused medley of irritating irrelevances, but this pitfall is always evaded by the device of somehow linking every one of these incidents, confessions or opinions to the home the author discovered, remade and cherished with so warm and unwavering an affection. Perhaps it is not just to speak of this method of bookmaking as a 'device.' It may well be the inevitable consequence of so intimate a relationship between the house and the man. What he does, what he remembers, what he thinks, is tinged with the color of his home, while the house itself has taken on, for this generation at least, a huge part of the personality of its master.

Not that there is anything mawkish about Hulbert Footner's attitude to his home. He does not slip into extravagant rhapsody. On the contrary, he whispers to you of the not-very-important shortcomings and curious little blemishes of the old dwelling and its environs, but he does this much as a happy lover would mention his loved one's pet superstition or her inability to keep her check book balanced. All the faults are endearing; everyone of them merely helps to keep his heroine "a creature not too bright or good for human nature's daily food." For some of her charming imperfections he is himself responsible. He would not have it otherwise. It is a perfect mating.

Certainly it seems to be so for him; and out of this mating there has been born an appealing book. There is in it something for the student of history, something for those who grow enthusiastic over old houses, something for the reader who finds in a simple, semi-detached community a microcosm of Life, and above all, there is something big and vital in the book for those who find stimulation and inspiration in the self-revelation of an author whose emotions are real and whose thinking is honest. Charles' Gift, through Hulbert Footner's generosity and artistry, has become a gift to us all.

SIDNEY L. NYBURG.

William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor. By WILLIAM SENER RUSK. Baltimore, Norman T. A. Munder, 1939. 180 pp., 25 plates. \$5.00.

Mr. Rusk's life of the sculptor Rinehart constitutes a long-awaited tribute to the artist with whom, Lorado Taft said, "Beauty first entered into American sculpture." Biographical material of great interest combines with critical evaluations and many delightful personal details to make Mr. Rusk's biography a well-rounded picture of the artist and of his work. The format of the biography and its many beautiful plates were conceived and carried out by the master printer, Norman Munder, in a spirit appropriate to the classical excellence of Rinehart's style.

William Henry Rinehart's life as a sculptor began when he arrived in Baltimore, probably in 1846. He bore a letter of recommendation to Messrs. Gregg, and Mr. Andrew Gregg of this firm arranged to have the future artist apprenticed to Baughman and Bevan, the principal stonecutters of the city. The accidental circumstance of being obliged to repair a mantel in the home of William T. Walters brought Rinehart to the attention of that great patron of art. Thereafter, he had an influential friend whose support was expressed in 1855 by sending him to Italy to study, after he had gone as far as it was then possible to go in the study of sculpture at the Maryland Institute.

Though Rinehart's funds were so limited in Florence that he was obliged to work as a mere stone-cutter, his boundless energy made possible the production of four large oval medallions cut in marble in bas-relief,—“Day,” “Night,” “Winter” and “Spring.” Upon his return to Baltimore in 1857, these were bought by Augustus J. Albert. Their purchase was the beginning of the artist's support by the connoisseurs of the day. Commissions for portrait busts of numerous patrons followed. More imaginative work, doubly appealing to the creative artist, became possible in connection with government buildings in Washington. Here Rinehart executed a fountain for the

old Post Office and two caryatid figures for a clock in the House of Representatives.

But the difficulties of such work were made nearly insuperable by the impossibility of obtaining models in America. Rinehart accordingly returned to Italy, going this time to Rome, and there, except for a short trip to America in 1866, remained until his death in 1874. His largest commission was executed shortly after his arrival in Rome,—the completion of the doors of the House and Senate wings of the National Capitol, begun by Crawford.

During this period, Rinehart's studio became a center for American tourists interested in the arts, and he himself became the friend and protector of American art students in Rome. Elihu Vedder in his *Digressions* gives tribute to Rinehart's kindness and generosity and St. Gaudens likewise extends praise to the artist whom he had known in his student days in Rome. Many interesting references to Baltimorean and other patrons who visited the artist at his studio in Rome appear in his correspondence with the elder Walters, printed by permission of the Walters Art Gallery. Aside from important biographical matter, these letters contain colorful descriptions of Nineteenth Century Rome. The illuminations, chariot races and other festivals contrast with the accounts of the ravages of the cholera and the old Roman fever, of which Rinehart himself was finally a victim.

The artist's work at this time connects him through the great statue of Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney with Severn Teackle Wallis, whose excellent bust by Rinehart was presented to the Peabody Institute by William T. Walters, and with members of the McCoy, Newcomer, Garrett and many other outstanding families of the time. The careful list of the works of Rinehart, supplementing the purely biographical part of the book, includes the names of all who gave commissions or bought his works during his life.

The artist's will, the means by which his executors carried out his desire to create a school of sculpture, and an illustrated account of the principal scholars of the Rinehart School of Sculpture and their work, conclude a biography which makes valuable contributions to the history of Baltimore and of early American collecting and creative art.

DOUGLAS H. GORDON

The Diamondback Terrapin. By FERDINAND C. LATROBE. Baltimore, Twentieth Century Press, 1939. 29 pages. \$2.00.

To those who love good living wherever born this little book will appeal. Mr. Latrobe is right in calling the diamondback terrapin "a superlative luxury." From the author we learn interesting facts about the terrapin which are not generally known. For example, how many know that the terrapin actually gains in weight during the long period of its hibernation? After the summer sun has hatched the terrapin eggs, it is necessary, according to Mr. Latrobe, for the young ones to hide in little holes or crevices in order to escape from carnivorous birds, crabs, etc. They live this way until the fall when, without having eaten anything, they go into hibernation until the following spring. In other words, the terrapin is over six months old before it starts on its usual diet of insects, tiny crabs, aquatic plants, etc.

Mr. Latrobe's book has an interesting account of a contest held in 1893 between Baltimore and Philadelphia to decide which city cooked terrapin the

better way. As Frank H. Hambleton, who represented Baltimore, did not allow the chefs to spoil the naturally rich flavor of the terrapin with spices, flour or wine, the Baltimorean easily won the contest.

These are only a few of the many interesting items in Mr. Latrobe's book about the diamondback terrapin. The little book is attractively and appropriately illustrated with pen and ink sketches.

RAPHAEL SEMMES.

The Riggs Family of Maryland. By JOHN BEVERLEY RIGGS. Baltimore, the Author, 1939. xix, 534 pp. \$10.

In 1926 or thereabouts, the writer of this book review was commissioned by the late General Clinton L. Riggs of Baltimore, on behalf of himself and his wife, to undertake the compilation and redaction of the genealogies of their respective families. General Riggs, due to his own previous efforts, had already accumulated a great amount of material which was supplemented by other Riggs data gathered from English sources and in this country by the late E. Francis Riggs of Washington, D. C. To these data the writer contributed, anonymously, in some measure and the result was the compilation of a sizable work bearing the titles "Riggs and Allied Families" and "Cromwell and Allied Families," in typewritten form, of which only a few copies were made and privately distributed. It is, therefore, with a peculiar sense of gratification that I am privileged to review *The Riggs Family of Maryland*, by John Beverley Riggs.

A preliminary examination of this book from cover to cover creates a most pleasant impression. The binding, the typography, the format and the numerous selected illustrations are excellent. More important, however, is the subject matter, and in this the author displays a remarkable aptitude for collecting and collating his abundant source material, as well as for making independent investigations. The opening chapters on the "Origin of the Family" and "The Riggs Family in England" set forth the results of the more recent explorations in England (see pp. 5-53).

The English or British origin of John Riggs, the founder of this Maryland family, nevertheless remains a mystery, for we know nothing about his parentage and the circumstances which brought him to America. John Riggs is first mentioned in the Maryland records in 1716 when he was devised fifty acres of a tract of land called "Sheppard's Forest," lying in Anne Arundel County, by the will of John Marriott. He was then about thirty years of age. He was thirty-four when he married. Although he possessed small property in the earlier period of his life, he prospered and increased his holdings until he became the owner of 1392 acres of land in the Province. He may not be classed among the more opulent land owners of his time, but the fact that his sons and daughters inter-married with the leading families of colonial Maryland indicates his social position among his contemporaries, a status which has been maintained by his descendants to this day.

The text of this work in interspersed with copious notes of historical and genealogical interest. A lady once remarked that she never read a foot note, because such matter is printed in smaller type and for that reason she regarded the notes as unimportant. On the contrary, information of the greatest value

is not infrequently conveyed through the medium of a footnote, as Mr. Riggs' compilation will attest.

The author shows by many instances the meticulous care which he has bestowed upon his work (see the list of *Corrigenda* at the end of the book). Perhaps, I may be permitted to direct attention also to a few errors as follows: Page 75, line 23, Israel G. Griffith married in 1860, not "1850"; page 91, line 15, read *daughter* of Oscar, etc.; *ibid.*, line 24, read *Horne* instead of "Hoone"; page 327, line 17, read *Jane* instead of "James." The typographical errors are remarkably few for so large a volume of printed matter.

Congratulations, Mr. John Beverley Riggs, on your excellent work, *et macte virtute puer!*

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER.

One Hundred Years of the Baltimore City College. By JAMES CHANCELLOR LEONHART. Baltimore, Roebuck, 1939. 307 pp. \$2.50.

Mr. Leonhart, the Editor, who is English instructor, member of the board of publications, and director of journalism at Baltimore City College, has apparently spared no effort in assembling the vast amount of material which fills this history of City's first hundred years. His narrative, which occupies approximately half of the volume, consists of a year by year chronicle of the College from its establishment, in 1839, as the Male High School to its centennial celebration in 1939.

Through the administrations of ten principals, beginning with Nathan C. Brooks, who, as an educator, text-book writer, author, editor and historian, was a man of more parts than might be inferred from this work, are traced the vicissitudes of the third oldest public high school in the land: the odyssey from Courtland Street through numerous makeshift and inadequate buildings to the present magnificent plant, acquired through untiring struggles against adverse conditions; the growth from the two original, rather grueling, curricula, the English and the Classical, to the now extensive program of studies, both academic and vocational; the inauguration of the five year course (there was even a seriously considered proposal to confer degrees), and its subsequent withdrawal; the rise of the Department of Journalism to its present enviable position; the consistent progress in athletics—all are faithfully if somewhat prosaically recorded.

The latter half of the book consists of short reminiscences contributed by alumni and former principals of the College, as well as members of the present staff, and of statistics on publications, extra-curricular activities, athletics, and other matters. In the memoirs contributed by Dr. Wilbur F. Smith, Principal, 1911-1926; Dr. Frank R. Blake, Principal, 1926-1932; and others is to be found the most interesting, although not the most informative, matter in the book.

This history gives the reader a comprehensive account of the life and achievements of the College; but with such a wealth of fact and tradition available, one cannot help wishing that Mr. Leonhart, instead of editing a compilation of statistics and memoirs, had written a straight and, to use a borrowed phrase, "not too serious" history of one of the Nation's greatest public high schools.

W. BIRD TERWILLIGER.

NOTES AND QUERIES

The appointment of Dr. Raphael Semmes as Librarian was announced on September 15 by the President of the Society. For a long time it has been recognized that in order to fulfill more adequately its major purposes the Society has needed the directing hand and service of an unusual librarian or archivist. It was no mere custodian of the existing collections of the Society that was needed but a scholar with a deep interest in Maryland history and with the initiative and imagination necessary to uncover and secure additional materials so that the rich history of the people of Maryland could be told in all its many aspects. The record of Dr. Semmes promises well for the future of the Society. After graduating from Princeton and Harvard University Law School Mr. Semmes received a Ph. D. degree in history from the Johns Hopkins University with a dissertation entitled "The Economic Beginnings of Maryland, 1634-1661." He then taught for several years, first at Trinity College in Connecticut and later as research professor in the University of Virginia. Returning to Baltimore, he devoted himself to Maryland history. The results of his studies, which bear ample testimony both to his scholarly abilities and to his knowledge of Maryland history, can be found in his two books, *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland*, 1937, and *Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland*, 1938.

W. STULL HOLT

The Maryland Historical Society, in the pages of its *Magazine*, wishes to express its high appreciation of a valuable piece of volunteer work done by one of its members, Mrs. E. M. Borden of the Washington Apartments, Baltimore.

Mrs. Borden has typed in a clear format and with unflinching accuracy the contents of 467 bound volumes containing approximately 8,100 pamphlets. Having the contents in so compact and concise a form has been of great service in selecting the titles of greatest interest and value for early cataloguing, and of aiding students searching for pamphlet material on specific subjects.

The magnitude of the undertaking can perhaps best be estimated by the fact that the typing of the contents of volumes 53-520 has engaged much of Mrs. Borden's time over a period of several years. The Society thanks Mrs. Borden for valuable work exceedingly well done.

L. H. DIELMAN,
Chairman, Library Committee.

Members of Maryland societies in other states, such as the Maryland Society of New York, are requested by President Radcliffe to send to the Maryland Historical Society the names of their organizations and a list of the officers. The Society desires to have a record of these groups.

Rumsey's Invention of the Water-Tube Boiler—The first number of *West Virginia History* (October, 1939), a newcomer among historical magazines, which is published by the Department of Archives and History of West

Virginia, carries in leading position an article by Dr. Matthew Page Andrews entitled "James Rumsey, 'Ingenious Mechanic' and International Genius." Dr. Andrews marshals competent witnesses to show that Rumsey, a native Marylander, first obtained in England in 1788 and later in this country a patent on the water-tube boiler which in recent times has become a vital part of steam plants the world over. At the dedication of the Rumsey Bridge across the Potomac at Shepherdstown last July 15 Dr. Andrews represented the Maryland Historical Society as one of the committee appointed by President Radcliffe to attend.

Letters that passed between John McDonogh in New Orleans and officials of the Maryland State Colonization Society in Baltimore, from the papers of the latter organization in possession of the Maryland Historical Society, have been edited by William D. Hoyt, Jr., and published in the *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXIV, p. 440-453 (October 1939).

Zimmerman—Names of parents of George Zimmerman and his wife Mary Ann (Hess?) are wanted. Both were born in Carroll County c. 1800.

Mrs. A. W. Boswell,
314 N H Street Monmouth, Ill.

Bristow and Sturts—Mr. C. Bristow, of 17 Congreve Road, Worthing, England, would like to hear of the descendants or relatives of a lady, who before marriage was named Bristow (Fanny). She married a chemist and came to America near 1855; or of the descendants of the Sussex Sturts who went to Virginia from Sussex, England, about the same year.

Poston—I seek information about John Poston (1739) and William Poston, his son. They lived in St. Mary's County and Charles County, Maryland.

Mrs. Florence Poston Hansen,
Rural Route 1, Emporia, Kan.

Tolley—Edward Carvil Tolley, 1753-1795, was the husband of Delia Tolley. The following notice was inserted in the *Maryland Journal* June 3, 1783: "Tolley, Delia. Harford Co. May 17, 1783. On Wednesday evening the 14th ult. Mrs. Delia Tolley wife of Edward Carvil Tolley Esq. Buried at Spesutia Church." I am anxious to know the maiden name of Delia Tolley.

O. K. Tolley,
Corbett, Maryland.

Woodward—Information is desired concerning Richard Woodward of Bradford Tp., Chester Co., Pa., whose daughter Deborah, born June 27, 1710, married William Bennett, May 21, 1730.

Also information concerning Hugh Riley of "The Forest," Somerset Co., Md., whose daughter Lydia married Thomas van Sweringen in 1712.

Susan S. Bennett,
(Mrs. John Bennett),
37 Legare St., Charleston, S. C.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

October 9 1939—At the regular meeting of the Society it was announced that Dr. Raphael Semmes had been appointed as Librarian of the Society, and that the Council was pleased to secure the services of Dr. Semmes.

A list of the donations made to the Society during the summer months was not read in full, due to its length, but in this connection it was brought to the attention of the meeting that the Society had received pictures, furniture, and miscellaneous items from the separate estates of Miss Sally Randolph Carter, Miss Ellen Howard Bayard, and Miss Elizabeth Grant McIlvain. The items from the Carter estate will be exhibited on the third floor.

The following were elected to membership:

Active

Mrs. Carl Ross McKenrick	Mrs. Harry S. Davis
Miss Mary E. Hobbs	Mr. W. J. Crabbs
Mr. Lewis M. Elphinstone	

Associate

Mr. Reuben Satterwaite, Jr.	Mr. Charles A. Owens
Mr. S. D. Townsend	

United States Senator Prentiss M. Brown, of Michigan, gave a very interesting talk on the subject, "Contrasts between the Settlement and Development of a Midwestern State and Some of the Thirteen Colonies."

November 13, 1939—At the regular meeting of the Society a list of donations was read. The following named persons were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Douglas H. Beall	Mr. William J. Kelley
Mrs. L. B. Clemens	Mr. Henry A. Lowry
Mr. Charles Hurley Cox	Maj. Tryon M. Shepherd, U. S. A.
Mrs. Edward William Digges	Mr. Milton Streck
Mr. Charles C. Duke	Miss Edith V. Thompson
Mrs. Edith E. Fowler	Mrs. Rudolph Vincenti
Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway	Gen. Amos W. W. Woodcock
Mrs. Henry S. Young	

Associate

Dr. Leo Behrendt	Mrs. James Peyton Powell
Mrs. James Byrne	Mr. William Ewen Richardson
Mrs. Louise Heaton	Mr. Carroll T. Sinclair
Mr. William E. Patterson	Mrs. Frederick Vercoe
Mrs. J. Pilling Wright	

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

Mr. John Collins Daves, on November 2, 1939.

Judge James Poultney Gorter, on November 10, 1939.

Judge Edward S. Delaplaine, of the Court of Appeals of Maryland, gave an interesting talk. His subject was "Adventures in Maryland Biography."

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